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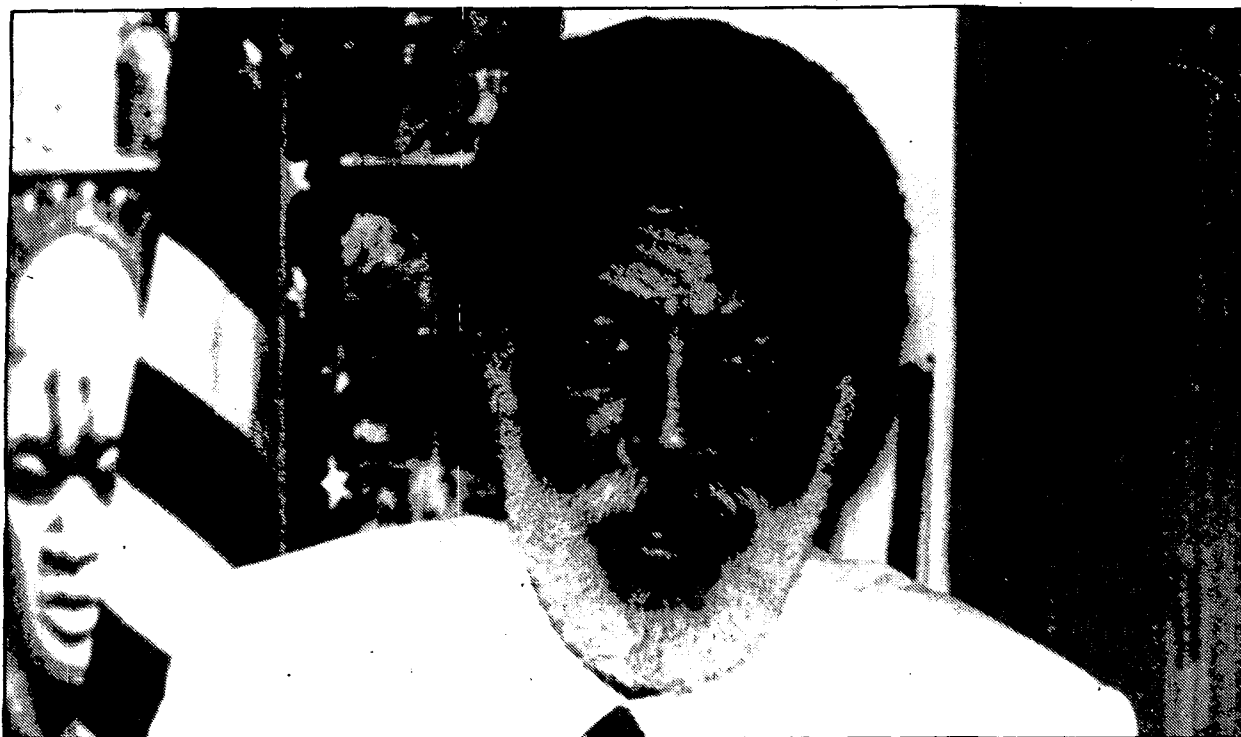
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COVERAGE BEGINS ON PAGE 6

Blacks, liberals split on criticizing Israel



Rep. Ron Dellums and other black congressmen have had little to say about reports of Israeli-South African weapons deals.

By Salim Muwakkil

When NBC News broke a story last month exposing Israeli-South African cooperation on the development of ballistic missiles and other nuclear connections, many African-American activists looked to the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) for an informed expression of outrage. And that seemed logical. After all, the CBC has been a consistent advocate of South African sanctions and was the moving force behind the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986—the measure so flagrantly violated by Israel's alleged activity. But the CBC had little to say.

Aides of black congressmen, normally bellicose on all subjects South African, were unusually reticent in commenting on the disclosures about Pretoria's military links to Israel. "Remember, so far these are just allegations," explained Bob Brauer, a top aide of Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA), the author of most of the House's anti-apartheid legislation. Brauer revealed that some CBC officials were briefed on the issue by the CIA and the State Department and added, "We are pursuing the matter, and we'll provide some more information after we investigate further."

According to subsequent reports in the *New York Times*, sources within the Bush administration confirmed the major elements of the NBC story, which alleged that

in exchange for a guaranteed supply of uranium Israel was assisting South Africa in the development of medium-range missiles able to deliver nuclear payloads. Brauer refused to say whether the information revealed at the briefing concurred with press accounts. The CBC's legislative office—the clearinghouse for all the group's coordinated actions—was similarly vague and restrained.

"If we can't depend on our congressional representatives—who are much closer to the sources of information than we are—to keep us informed about issues that affect our people," complained Robert Starks, Chicago-based chairman of the Free South Africa Movement, "then where do we look?"

This sentiment is fueling a growing tendency in black activist circles to demonize Israel as an unalterable enemy of Third World aspirations. The issue also is tailor-made for those African-American activists who spot Jewish conspiracies around every corner. A slew of posters have recently appeared on Chicago's South Side announcing an upcoming lecture about Israel's and South Africa's "genocidal pact against the black people of the Earth."

Black elected officials' apparent reluctance to tackle the issue has drawn criticism from other, more responsible, elements of the activist community as well. "Those folks at the CBC are sitting on their hands at a time when they should be standing tall for South Africa," said one member of the African lobbying group Transafrica.

A coalition of groups including Transafrica, the Washington Office on Africa and the Southern African Support Project demonstrated in early November outside the Israeli Embassy to publicize the issue. "We decided to take it upon ourselves to bring the issue out in the open, since so many of our politicians have been so silent," explained Aubrey McCutcheon, director of the Washington Office on Africa.

Why now? McCutcheon said most people involved in the anti-apartheid struggle have heard tales of military connections between South Africa and Israel. "So these recent disclosures were not really news to us. It's some of what we've been saying for some time." The real question, he added, was why Bush administration officials decided to reveal information that had been available for so long. The conventional wisdom attributes these recent revelations to a State Department attempt to force Israel to look more favorably at the Middle East peace plan put forth by Secretary of State James Baker. Many pundits believe that the department's leaks about Jerusalem's links to Pretoria were designed to soften Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's bargaining position during his visit last week.

Among the more paranoid formulations of a rationale for the leaks is that a mean-spirited faction in the U.S. defense establishment is attempting to foment domestic friction. Although that charge seems a bit hyperbolic, its

underlying logic serves as a good explanation for the CBC's lethargic response. Off the record, in fact, some congressional aides conceded that their bosses' silence on the issue was based more on domestic exigencies than anything else.

"I know that many CBC members were biting their lips until after the New York City mayoral race," said one aide. "They didn't want to do anything to interfere with David Dinkins' outreach to the city's Jewish community." Complaints about military assistance to the only regime since the German Third Reich to codify racial inferiority were apparently considered too damaging to the fragile rapprochement now taking hold between Americans of Jewish and African descent.

"If we had raised a stink about Israel's despicable international behavior, we would have brought a focus on a major bone of contention between African and Jewish Americans," an aide for a New York representative explained. "With Dave [Dinkins] running so close in the city, and with Jewish vote so important to the overall totals, we decided that an all-out excoriation of Israel just wasn't the intelligent thing to do at that time."

Cold feet: Although that attitude was a product of parochial political concerns, the argument that principle must be put on hold in order to accommodate an unreasonable Jewish voting bloc is a dangerous one for Israel, one that nourishes anti-Semitic stereotypes. But it is a seeming reality in Congress. "It's absolutely outrageous, but the American left has completely lost its moral bearings when it comes to Israel," said Jane Hunter, an author and well-regarded expert on South African-Israeli connections. "The CBC has been doing what it could, but it gets absolutely no support from liberals unless it toes the line on Israel." Hunter said the NBC story detailing the two countries' connection arose from an ongoing

INSIDE STORY

split within the foreign-policy establishment.

Some elements seek to embarrass Israel, and their antipathy is based on vestiges of a kind of anti-Semitism that once was common to the U.S. military community, she explained. "Some officials in the Bush administration are uncomfortable with the U.S. plan to sell supercomputers [to Israel] and are angling to slow it down or stop it." What may have provoked the disclosure was administration officials' desire to derail the supercomputer deal.

Hunter's complaint is echoed in an article by Stephen Zunes in the November *Progressive*. He wrote that political liberals—who have railed against human-rights abuses the world over, including South Africa—have a seeming blind spot when it comes to criticizing Israel for its horrid record of human-rights and other abuses.

Many critics of U.S. policy toward Israel blame the inordinate influence of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) for the blatant favoritism shown the Jewish state. "Political action committees supportive of the Israeli government contribute more than \$7 million to congressional campaigns, primarily those of liberal Democrats," Zunes wrote. However, the reasons for liberals' double standard about Israeli behavior are many, and some may even be justified. But the manifest injustice of such hypocrisy is becoming increasingly more difficult to rationalize.

Already Rep. Dellums has been forced to drop two provisions of his South African sanctions bill because they would negatively affect Israel. He accepted that compromise as the price he had to pay to attract liberal support.

The same people who offer solid support for anti-apartheid legislation are often the ones pushing for extraordinary deference to Israel's wishes. The potential for conflict augured by NBC News' revelations would tear at the very heart of the black-liberal coalition that comprises the progressive wing of mainstream politics in this country.

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

Dems' national forum pits platitudes against policy

THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (DLC), founded in March 1985 after Walter Mondale's landslide defeat, has played two distinct roles. Two of its founders, Sens. Chuck Robb (D-VA) and Sam Nunn (D-GA), have used the organization to rally Southern centrists against Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential aspirations. In this role they have failed abysmally. For example, the DLC's main contribution to the 1988 election, the all-South primary day "Super Tuesday," benefited Jackson more than any other candidate. And Robb's bumbling debates with Jackson—the most recent being November 13 on the *MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour*—have provided Jackson with both publicity and a weak adversary.

In its other role, the DLC has served as the only public forum for Democratic party debate. Below Robb and Nunn, its own membership represents all sides of the Democratic debate, including Jackson supporters like Reps. John Lewis (D-GA) and Bill Gray (D-PA). During its conferences it has brought together opposing views and aired unorthodox ones.

At its most recent conference, held November 13 at Washington's Hyatt Regency, the DLC displayed the same division of purpose. Robb's opening address, aimed at Jackson's followers, was predictably wooden, but the panel discussions on social, economic and foreign policy showed the organization at its best.

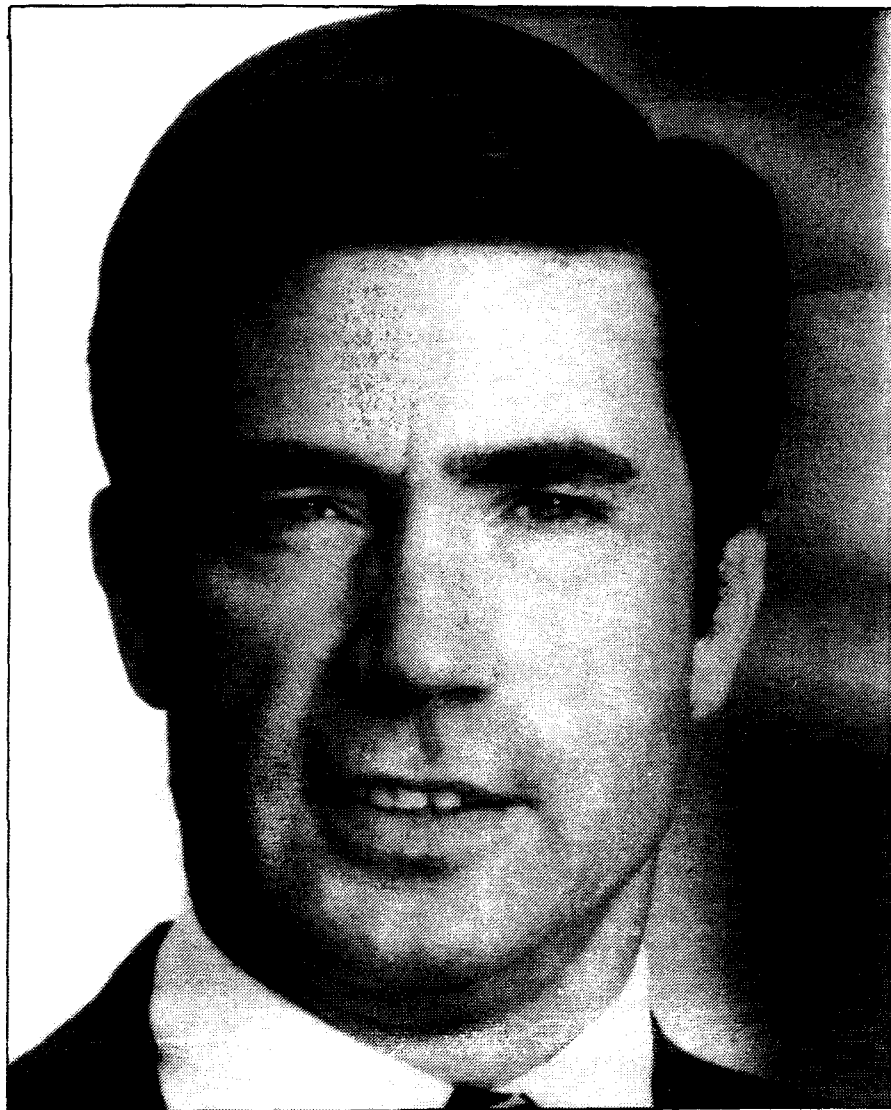
Liberal fundamentalism: Robb's problem with building an anti-Jackson bloc is that he no longer has a coherent political outlook. If Jackson's outlook is rooted in the '60s, so too is Robb's. A former Marine colonel in Vietnam, Robb has always been a Cold War Democrat who has backed increased military spending and an aggressive American foreign policy. But with communism's collapse, his Cold Warriorism has become anachronistic.

Like other Southern Democrats, Robb also positioned himself as a fiscal conservative—someone who was willing to cut social programs in order to balance the budget. But his fiscal conservatism has also been undermined by the Cold War's end. The prime target for budget reductions has become the military, but both Robb and Nunn continue to back multibillion-dollar military programs like the Stealth bomber and the MX missile.

As the ground has shifted from under his own positions, Robb has not revised his views; he has merely made them more abstract. In his speech he attacked "liberal fundamentalism" without explaining what it consisted of. And he upheld in the name of "mainstream principles" platitudes like the following:

- "Let us declare support for fiscal responsibility and let our actions speak louder than our words," and
- "Let us clear a policy of resolve in defending American interests and values abroad."

He fared even worse in his *MacNeil/Lehrer* debate with Jackson. While Jackson claimed credit for Virginia Gov.-elect Doug Wilder and New York Mayor-elect David Dinkins's victories (Dinkins' campaign "was an extension of our campaign in 1988," Jackson said), Robb attacked Jackson for representing the "liberal, activist wing" of the Democrats. Robb became hopelessly abstract when asked to define what liberalism stood for. "It



Sen. Chuck Robb's anachronistic outlook undercuts his anti-Jackson efforts.

is simply going back to the traditional approaches that involve programs that are seen by the American people as being more responsive to individual interests and constituencies than having a broad national purpose," he told the show's moderator.

When the moderator asked Robb to define the "mainstream values" he thought the Democrats should stand for, the first thing he mentioned was "national security." When Robb tried to define "mainstream values" in terms of fiscal conservatism, Jackson threw the Stealth and the MX back at him. Robb then complained that Jackson was "always criticizing the Defense Department." Ten years ago such a charge might have undermined an opponent's argument, but in 1989 it is very hard to score points by standing up for the Pentagon.

Economic debate: If the rest of the DLC conference, which was titled "Toward a Mainstream Agenda," proved anything, it was that the Democrats no longer have a mainstream. On major social and economic issues there is no clear right, left or center position. The range of differences was evident in the panel on "Honing America's Competitive Edge." Two of the participants, Jeff Faux, the president of the Economic Policy Institute, and Joel Kotkin, the West Coast correspondent for *Inc.*, held diametrically opposed views of how the U.S. should respond to Japan's economic challenge.

Faux argued that the U.S. was increasingly losing out in the world economy. To compete, he said, the U.S. would have to alter its tax policies to encourage long-range plan-

ning by industry, subsidize research and development through a new civilian agency, and adopt a "results-oriented" trade policy that would prevent other countries from taking unfair advantage of America's open markets. He called his approach "progressive economics in the national interest."

Kotkin denied that the U.S. was declining industrially. Because of the country's abundant natural resources and entrepreneurial economy, he argued, the U.S. had a distinct advantage over other countries. He construed growing Japanese investment in the U.S. as a sign of American strength rather than weakness. And he warned against government intervention in the economy. "It would be odd for us to adopt more state-oriented strategies when others are running away from them," he said.

Other speakers mirrored the differences between Faux and Kotkin's positions. In a foreign-policy panel, Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK) warned of "growing protectionism," while in DLC's keynote speech, Majority Leader Dick Gephardt (D-MO), who was the DLC's first chairman, called for an aggressive trade strategy and for "reasonable joint efforts between government and industry" to restore American competitiveness in key industries like electronics. (Gephardt has recently introduced a bill, the Trade and Technology Initiative of 1989, that would create a new federal Department of Industry and Technology to coordinate trade and industrial policy.)

Speakers on both sides of the issue, however, failed to draw the connection between

America's fiscal woes and the continuation of the Cold War military budget. Gephardt noted that "economic rather than military competition is coming to dominate the world," but he did not draw the obvious conclusion that the reduction of the military budget has now become a viable economic priority.

Choice and competition: The conference's most interesting panel was on social policy. Instead of inviting panelists who disagreed with each other, the DLC invited three proponents of a new approach to welfare and public housing. Robert Woodson, the president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, is a black independent. Kimi Gray, the chairperson of the Kenilworth-Parkside Resident Management Corp. in Washington, is a registered Democrat who has been lionized by Jack Kemp, the secretary of Housing and Urban and Development. And David Osborne, the author of *Laboratories of Democracy*, is an advocate of Woodson and Gray's approach to public housing.

Osborne distinguished between a "social-service strategy" and an "economic strategy" for helping the poor. According to Osborne, both welfare and public housing were originally devised as expedients to help victims of the Great Depression get on their feet, but by encouraging dependency these programs helped to create a permanent underclass. The programs do this not only psychologically but also economically—by providing perverse incentives to be unemployed or a single parent.

As an alternative approach, Osborne cited Gray's success at Kenilworth-Parkside. In 1982 she and other tenants had formed their own management company to run the housing project. As a result, apartments have been renovated, rent collections have gone up and drug abuse and the crime rate have drastically declined. Now, with Kemp's support and Woodson's advice, Gray and other tenants are going to buy the apartment complex. The panelists urged that this approach be adopted for other public-housing projects. Gray told the Democrats, "We have asked you repeatedly to stop planning for us and let us plan for ourselves."

In a panel on education, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton recommended a similar approach to education, allowing parents to choose which schools they send their children to and decentralizing control over the schools themselves. As Osborne pointed out, the '60s left first proposed many of these approaches, but in the '80s they were championed nationally by Republicans rather than Democrats.

At the conference, however, Democrats raised legitimate questions about these approaches. Missouri Lt. Gov. Harriet Woods questioned whether turning over public housing to residents might lead in some cases to further deterioration of the housing, and Fairfax County, Va., School Superintendent Robert Spillane warned that school decentralization would only increase the chaotic state of some school districts.

Robb and Nunn promised to reconcile these and other disagreements in a new DLC position paper that is scheduled to be presented at the next DLC conference. Democrats should not hold their breath, however. Unless they decide to ignore many members' views, they will probably have to settle for platitudes. □

By Joel Bleifuss

Civil war in El Salvador

The mainstream media's coverage of the civil war in El Salvador has by and large been atrocious. One is led to believe that the violence in El Salvador is equally meted out from both the left and the right. The Salvadoran people are presented as the victims, caught in between the military and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). Little mention is made of the popular support that makes armed opposition possible. Arnaldo Ramos, an official spokesperson for the FMLN, talked with *In These Times* last week about the civil war. "It's a social, political and military confrontation," says Ramos. "It is the state that is committing aggression against civil society, a fascist militaristic state. The one group in El Salvador that determines whether there is peace or war is the armed forces. Historically the oligarchy developed a military apparatus to suppress the democratic forces. There is a symbiosis between the military and the oligarchy—especially the agro-export sector that is represented by Roberto D'Aubuisson. Their objective is to stop, at all costs, the process of direct negotiations that was going on in the country last month. The military fears peace because war is the No. 1 business in El Salvador, and they are the No. 1 stockholders in the war. It gives them money and power."

"The U.S. perceives the situation as being under control because they believe that the FMLN's resources—war materiel, etc.—are not enough to challenge the military in the long term. Therefore the U.S. continues to support the government and the armed sources by sending more than \$1.5 million a day in aid. Then, as a way to kill two birds with one stone, the U.S. has begun to blame Nicaragua. They are also bringing Noreiga into this. I have heard from contacts in Honduras and Guatemala that the military apparatus in those countries is getting ready to intervene. The Bush administration is organizing this to indicate that they will not allow an FMLN victory. They will do all in their power to keep the status quo."

War aid

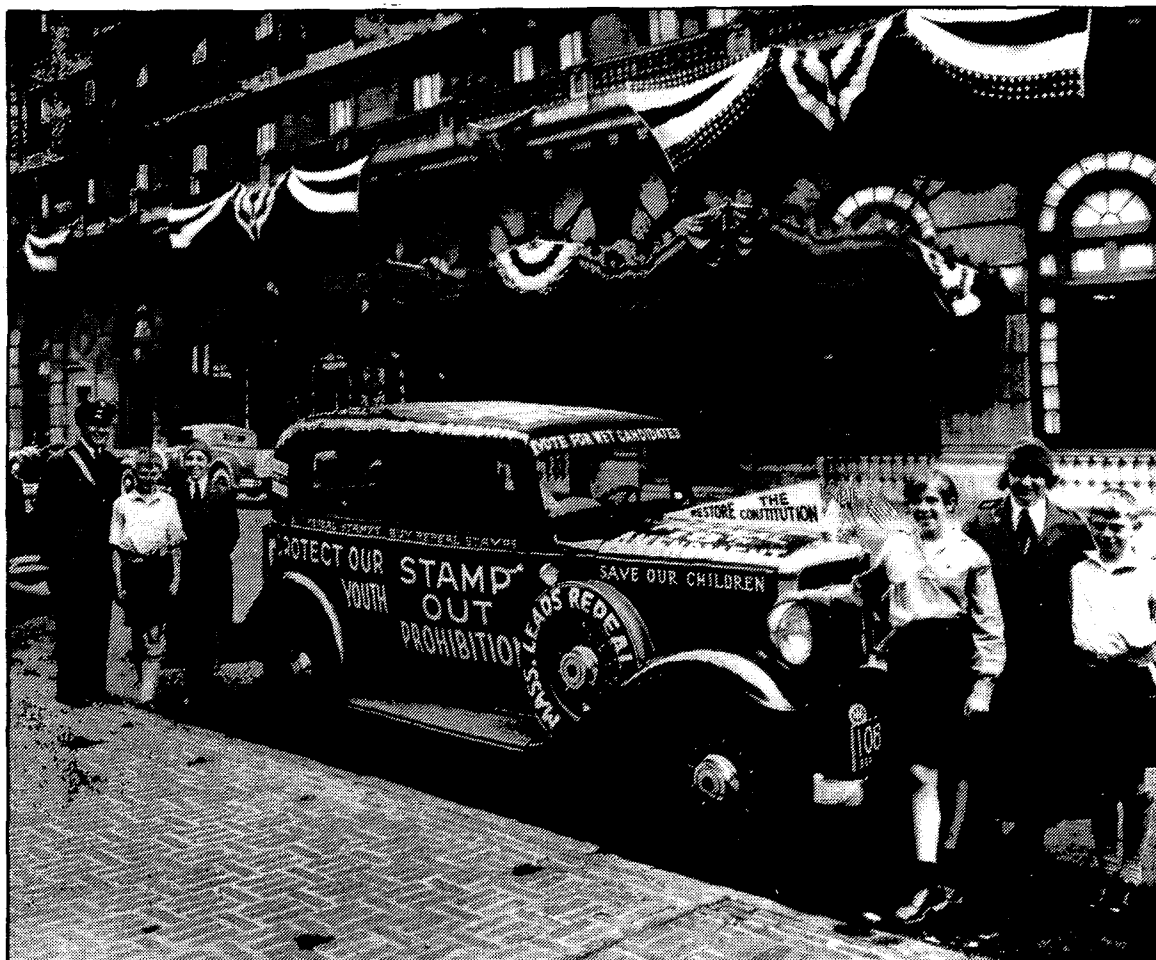
This year the U.S. will send about \$390 million in military and economic aid to El Salvador. All told, in the '80s, the U.S. has spent about \$4 billion propping up the Salvadoran government. The FMLN receives most of its support from the Salvadoran people and international solidarity groups. "Our operation is very cheaply run," say the FMLN's Ramos. "We rely a great deal on the support we can get from the local population, and obviously we also have an international network of support. We have an exile population of more than 1 million. Many of those individuals contribute and raise money. In West Germany there is a solidarity committee that openly raises money for arms for the FMLN." In the U.S., the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is currently trying to raise \$50,000 to buy medical supplies for those wounded in the current fighting.

SLAPP in the face

Corporate interests have developed a new weapon to use against citizen groups that are bothering them with issues of public accountability. Born of the U.S. judicial system, it is called SLAPP (Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation). A blueberry farmer in Sutton, W.V., got SLAPPED after he reported to federal authorities that pollution from a nearby coal mine was killing fish in a local river. The mine's operator hit him with a \$200,000 libel suit. Then there is the case of a housewife in Santa Cruz, Calif., who wrote a letter to the local paper criticizing a proposed development. The developer cried libel and sued the woman for \$3 million. Eve Pell reports in *The [Santa Cruz] Sun* that most of these "lawsuits eventually [fail] in court, but not before causing their targets considerable anxiety and expense." Now a group of citizens in Iowa City, Iowa, are wondering whether it is possible to go to court over a zoning dispute about a Wal-Mart mall that they say violates the city's master plan. But they say they cannot raise a \$1 million surety bond that is required to bring suit. (See story by Bill Mueller.)

Mallefactors mall malleable minds

In Pinellas County, Fla., consumption is taught early. The county board of education, in conjunction with local corporate interests, has built a new school, Enterprise Village. The new schoolhouse is a mini-mall—lined with a McDonald's, a GTE phone center and



Same campaign, different drug: A Repeal Prohibition campaign car begins its 1932 trip from Wilmington, Del., to Seattle.

Protecting the rain forest through tribal solidarity

Native Americans from the Pacific Northwest are coming to the aid of the Lacandone Indians and their Mayan rain-forest home. The Lacandone Rainforest Program, sponsored by a number of groups in the Northwest, including the Lummi Indians, is dedicated to publicizing the environmental and cultural importance of the rain forest, facilitating communication between the Americas' indigenous peoples and developing a pilot environmental-monitoring program to protect ancient forests.

The Lacandone rain forest, the northernmost tropical rain forest in North America, lies on the Mexican-Guatemalan border. In 1875 it covered 3.2 million acres. Today about 1 million acres remain. According to Homero Aridjis of the Mexican environmental organization The Group of 100 and former Mexican ambassador to Holland and Switzerland, the rain forest is currently being destroyed at a rate of 3.5 percent per year. "What used to take 50 years to destroy now requires only one."

The Lacandone have lived in the forest for more than 1,500 years. Today fewer than 500 of them remain, and their tribe is threatened with extinction unless Lacandonia is protected. In 1978 the Mexican government designated 83,000 acres as the Montes Azules Biological Reserve, but no enforcement accompanies that status and the reserve is prey to the loggers, oil drillers, cattle ranchers, farmers and developers who, with every acre destroyed, help turn off the Earth's supply of oxygen. In 1989 clearing by burning has been

worse than ever before. According to Aridjis, "This year the smoke from the fires, which began in March, reached a height of 100,000 feet, as opposed to 8,000 feet in previous years." Airports in the region have frequently had to suspend flights.

The Lummi and affiliated groups, mindful of how little help has been available through official channels to save their own forests, are using private funding to start the pilot monitoring program. The money will be used to send two members of Northwest Indian tribes to live and work with the Lacandone, assist in preservation of the deforestation and report what they learn to the public and to the U.S. Congress through Indian and other organizations.

The project grew out of a conference titled "A Common Destiny," held in September in Seattle. K'in Bor and Manuel Chan Bor, two Lacandonians who had never before left the Mexican rain forest, met with leaders of several tribes from the U.S. Northwest and British Columbia, along with environmental activists from throughout North America. Speakers shared their experiences working for the protection of ancient forest.

The Lummi people, who use every part of red cedar trees for everything from baskets to clothing, are seeing white loggers clearing 1,000 acres per week of the Washington forest they depend on for their livelihood. Their salmon streams are granted just 75 feet of woods on either side. Ken Cooper, director of the Lummi's Cultural Resource Protection Center, explained that healthy forests can't be trimmed into independent buffer zones. "Only hardwoods grow near the stream. Without the forest, floods come and topple them right in. We spend all our time lugging

them out."

Emmet Allull, a native Hawaiian who practices medicine near the Big Island's rain forest, described how a 2-megawatt geothermal plant was built there without an environmental impact statement and over the protests of Indians who saw the plant as a violation of the fire goddess Pele. Now a 500-megawatt plant is being planned to tap Pele's volcanic forces, and the Indians, denied even subsistence rights to their native rain forest, have no legal recourse.

And in Lacandonia, endangered macaws are stolen to be sold in Florida at prices of \$10,000 a pair. Precious mahogany, now protected, is likely to be harvested again. Seventy tons of palm leaves per week are hauled out of the forest. River otters, swamp and river crocodiles, white turtles, jaguars, many exotic birds and countless plant species are all facing extinction as the Lacandone rain forest is destroyed at a rate even faster than in Amazonia.

Perhaps the greatest irony is that even in terms of the short-term bottom line, the destruction of rain forest is folly. According to *The Economist*, recent studies show that three times the money can be made harvesting crops like fruit and rubber from active, managed, living rain forests than from destroying them.

Those with the greatest knowledge of how to reap such riches are the indigenous peoples who have lived in the rain forest since they arrived in the Americas thousands of years ago. By trampling over the rights and cultures of the natives, the forces of greed are not only ethnocidal and ecocidal but stupid too.

—David Steinhardt

Wal-Mart moves on Iowa City

IOWA CITY, IOWA—Debra Gilpin doesn't consider herself an activist. But this past summer the Iowa City woman led a battle against the country's second-largest retailer, Wal-Mart.

It started with her letter to the editor in which she attacked the city council's decision to rezone a 28-acre parcel of land from industrial to commercial use. The rezoning opened the doors for an Illinois developer, Joseph Company of Peoria, to build a 26-store, \$12 million strip mall that would be anchored by a Wal-Mart store, a giant department store chain owned by billionaire Sam Walton of Bentonville, Ark., the richest man in America. In her letter, Gilpin wondered why important decisions like the one on this mall should be left to seven council members. She also said that as a housewife and shopper, she personally did not want another mall in town. Something should be done about this, she concluded.

Jim Clayton, owner of The Soap Opera, a gourmet soap shop in Iowa City, read that letter. He was surprised to see a housewife protesting more stores. He was also encouraged, and so he called Gilpin. Out of their talk came Citizens to Preserve the Comprehensive Plan (CPCP), a

group advocating a return to the city's master zoning plan. Since the council had already rezoned the site, CPCP decided to petition the council to either roll back its amendment or call a referendum vote.

Using about 30 volunteers, many of them older residents, CPCP filed a sheath of signatures by the July deadline. Joseph Company was more than a casual observer at the city clerk's office, and out of 2,104 names, 589 petitioners were disallowed. But the city clerk granted CPCP 15 additional days to find the necessary signatures, and the rezoning was put to the voters on November 7. CPCP's proposition lost 4,669 to 3,954.

Apparently some people in Iowa City do want to see a Wal-Mart. But a growing number of Iowans are beginning to realize what 19 Wal-Marts have already done to the state's small and medium-sized towns. Wal-Marts tend to become the one-stop shop everywhere they settle, especially after all other businesses close their doors. Adding to the general negative feelings about Walton's chain was a March 1989 report by Kenneth Stone of Iowa State University. The economist examined 10 Wal-Mart towns over a four-year period. He found that overall sales in town jumped, but the increase was all at Wal-Mart. Overall, sales in town were hurt for grocery, hard-

ware, specialty, clothing, toy, hobby and sporting-goods stores. Even shoe-repair shops and beauty parlors felt the heat. Neighboring towns suffered. Even thriving medium-sized towns no longer lured shoppers. The end result: stores closed, people left, and towns moved toward becoming bedroom communities with a Wal-Mart. Meanwhile, the Walton family fortune was growing to its present \$9 billion.

That scenario was not likely to happen in Iowa City, which, if anything, has more stores than one would expect for a town of 50,000. Rather, observers believe, Iowa City is an experiment in which Wal-Mart wants to test itself against the strong discount stores already in town, including two K marts and a Target.

In 1989 Wal-Mart will invade 145 new communities, bringing the total of Wal-Mart towns to 1,335. Sales on the chain will top \$25 billion, putting it behind Sears and freshly ahead of K mart.

Despite losing the referendum, Clayton is not giving up. He points out that there is still a city master plan that has the disputed land zoned industrial, so any building on it would be non-conforming. Consequently there might be a lawsuit, but that could be financially disastrous for individuals to file since they could be countersued.

—William Mueller

Photocopy press plumbs underground culture

Forget *Rolling Stone* and *Spin*. Do it yourself!

There is an alternative to being force-fed with dry mainstream culture and highly consumeristic advertising. An avenue many youths are taking is to create their own publications and become part of the grass-roots underground music and culture press. These publications, called "fanzines," can be published by anyone with enough motivation, subject matter and photocopy access.

A fanzine's coverage depends on what the editor is interested in or wants to gripe about. The topics covered are usually unpopular ones that get little mainstream press attention, such as alternative music, subculture art, ecological and environmental concerns, animal rights, feminism, dark humor, films of the horror-gore genre, anarchist and leftist viewpoints and reviews of other fanzines.

The informational format of fanzines is usually shocking, abrasive, visually stimulating and or downright nasty. The editors face no pressure from advertisers or any other form of censorship.

Fanzine publishers are motivated not by profit but by the desire to communicate, to put form to reality, to help cure the boredom from which so many middle-class youth suffer.



Fanzines are essential for helping unknown bands get their messages across and their names out. The magazines provide people with alternative ways of living life and offer a thought-provoking source of entertainment. They are also an effective way to meet people outside one's own social circles and to expand ties with people from all over the world.

In an interview in *Maximum Rock-n-Roll*, otherwise known as the hard-core music bible, Mike Gunderloy of *Factsheet 5*, the fanzine that reviews all kinds of alternative publications, says he is guided by two key concepts: "leadership by example" and "authority of knowledge." Gunderloy says that by showing people alter-

natives to the corporate military/governmental way of doing things, fanzines encourage people to get off their butts and do things for themselves, in conjunction with their communities. "I hope to make the big institutions of our time simply irrelevant," he says.

So next time you're in a record store that distributes fanzines, think about bypassing *Spin* and *Rolling Stone* and dive into an unlimited genre of unrestricted and uncensored coverage of a world that others are too afraid to touch. Who knows, maybe you can help make a better system than the one offered.

—Aaron Nauth

Nauth publishes *Fangoozine* from his home at 410 E. College, Carbondale, IL 62901.

a Century 21 real-estate office, among others—that is staffed by elementary-school students. Ross Atkin reports in the *Christian Science Monitor* that, according to bus drivers, "children who 'worked' at Enterprise Village engaged in commuter-train-type business chatter on their bus rides home." The mall was built to teach youngsters about the world of work. "Getting America educated is the most pressing challenge," says David Hocker, president of the International Council of Shopping Centers. "We must sell young people on the fact that without an education they can't live the good life." And what better place to educate young people about the good life than a mall? What better way to increase future worker productivity than to start teaching the fine art of fast-food management to a group of 10-year-olds? Keith Gall operates Enterprise Village with a staff of 10, three of whom are teachers. Before going to work, students spend six weeks applying for jobs. They are paid with fake money that can be spent only at the mall. "Ten-year-olds are very impressionable," says Gall. "Older children might be more interested in the social than the educational aspects [of the program]."

Fuelish funding

For 17 years the Center for Defense Information, the Washington-based group that publishes the *Defense Monitor*, has been giving the public the straight dope on the U.S. military-industrial complex. The current *Defense Monitor* focuses on how the Pentagon has ravaged the environment. For one thing, the military's patriotic circus is extremely wasteful. Martin Calhoun reports, "It has been estimated that the fuel consumed by the Department of Defense in a single year would run the entire U.S. public-transit system for 22 years."

Davy Jones' nuclear locker

The *Defense Monitor's* Calhoun further reports, "The world's navies have experienced accidents that have left at least 50 nuclear warheads and nine nuclear reactors on the ocean floor." He goes on to write, "The possibility remains of additional accidents involving any of the thousands of U.S. nuclear warheads, 35 nuclear-powered surface ships and 128 nuclear submarines."

Racist motif

Many university and national sports teams have animal symbols and mascots—Bulls, Tigers, Cardinals, Gophers, Badgers, Orioles, etc. The University of Illinois mascot is Chief Illiniwek. Decked out in war paint and an eagle-feathered war bonnet, the chief dances for the crowds during halftime. This makes Indians in Illinois see red. They have petitioned the university to change mascots, but to no avail. University Chancellor Morton Weir did agree to make Illinois cheerleaders wipe the war paint off their faces, remove the painted "I" from Chief Illiniwek's face and discourage the sale of university sweatshirts emblazoned with a beer-swilling drunken Indian. Sam Keahna, a Mesquaki Indian and the program director at the Chicago-based American Indian Center, is offended by the university mascot. "He is not representative of the Illini tribes," Keahna told *In These Times*. "His regalia is representative of the Lakota people. And he is doing an very inappropriate dance. I have a little more respect for other ethnic groups and their culture. I wouldn't look right if I was doing a war dance in a Catholic Church. Eagle feathers are sacred objects and should not be displayed in a gyration that is not representative of native dancing."

Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL) tried to help. He signed the petition a couple weeks ago while making an appearance at the 36th Annual Chicago American Indian Center Powwow. At a recent University of Illinois football game, a plane flew over the stadium pulling a banner that read, "Keep the Chief, Dump Simon." The crowd cheered. Simon, who is up for re-election next year, is now backpedaling on the issue. And Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH has not taken a stand.

Going, going, gone

For \$12.50, a racketball-size chunk of the Berlin Wall can be yours. According to Munster, Ind., entrepreneur William Bell, his national ad campaign brought in 1,100 orders in its first four days. As an East German woman said on TV recently, "I think we should knock down the wall and break it into chunks and wrap them up and send them to America. I've heard Americans will buy anything. We could use the money." Good idea, but an American beat her to it.



The night of jubilation when East met West

By Gordon Lewis

BERLIN

ALTHOUGH THE BERLIN WALL STILL stands, a relic of the Cold War, it no longer holds anyone in. Ironically, on November 9, the anniversary of the bloodily suppressed 1918 Spartacist Days, the people of East Germany tasted the first fruits of their democratic revolution.

The news that East Germans could travel west came unexpectedly. The Central Committee was debating a travel law, but nobody expected it to take effect until December. When the information was broadcast, I made my way to the Invalidenstrasse checkpoint in North Berlin. Arriving around midnight, I saw a large crowd had already gathered and was cheering the first citizens of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) as they passed through the fortifications. Those traveling in cars, clunky East German "Trabis," could move only inches at a time. The crowd pounded on the roofs and handed the drivers and passengers bottles of champagne and beer.

It was a very moving moment. East Germans were stunned by this outpouring of sentiment, especially because in recent weeks a clear bias against East Germany refugees was expressed by many West Germans. Some people cried as they passed the final barrier. Others lifted their hands in the air and smiled. Still others moved through the crowd with a detached stare, seemingly unsure of what was really happening.

"What are you going to do?" I asked as many as I could.

"Ku'damm," West Berlin's main boulevard, and for most East Germans a symbol of the West, was mentioned in every answer. "We're going to take a walk on Ku'damm, have a beer and then go home," said one woman. "Ku'damm—I don't believe it."

History in the making: As midnight gave way to early morning, the crowds grew

steadily on both sides of the border. My West German wife and I climbed onto a corrugated iron roof overlooking the no man's land that lies between the outer wall at the West and the inner wall about 300 meters to the East. The East German border guard in a tower above us merely watched. Some people jumped off the roof into the restricted area, and we followed their lead. Soon hundreds greeted the GDR citizens at the East German checkpoint. Border guards surrounded us smiling.

One of the guards, a man of about 50, stood in front of me. "Will it stay this way?" someone asked. "I guess so," he responded good-naturedly. "Are you going to go across?" I asked. "Sure," he said, "but not tonight."

Another group of East Germans passed by on foot. One woman of about 40 went up to the border guard, stuck a flower in his lapel and gave him a big kiss. Everyone cheered. "If the people are happy, then I'm happy," the guard responded.

The crowd in the restricted area had now grown into the thousands. People began to chant, "We want in." Everyone joined in. The border guards appeared nervous at this point; apparently they had not received any orders. The crowd sensed this and pushed forward toward the first of the red-and-white-striped barriers blocking the way, then we all climbed over.

My wife and I were both nervous, but there was no way we or anyone at the front could stop the surge. The next barrier came and went, the border guards retreating, until we reached a steel-barred fence on the eastern side.

Ahead of us, under the dim yellow lights of East Berlin, a line of cars extended as far as the eye could see, and pedestrians stood in line by the thousands. Everyone began chanting, "We want in! We want in!" Behind us the crowd continued to push.

And then the impossible happened. The East German border guards opened the

gates. With a roar we ran into East Berlin. The East Germans cheered and laughed, not believing their eyes. A film of us storming the gate made the world news, with reporters claiming the pictures were of East Germans going to the West. But it was the other way around. The citizens of the GDR were orderly and extremely patient. As one man, Holger, a student from Zwickau, a town on the Polish border, told me later, "That was one line we were happy to stand in."

Carnival in Berlin: In the East—without a passport, without a visa, without exchanging an obligatory 25 marks. It was remarkable. We moved toward the city center. The East Germans heading for the border weren't sure if this armada was an East German protest or what. We ran to the car windows, overflowing with ebullience. "They opened the border. No controls. It's free." The traditionally reserved Berliners were as fiery as Brazilians during Carnival. Every few yards we stopped and talked, shaking hands, and even getting the occasional high-five. The cars on the streets honked their horns and flashed their lights as we made our way down Friedrichstrasse and turned back toward the wall on Unter den Linden, East Berlin's main street, at the end of which stood, bathed in light, the Brandenburg Gate.

At the end of Unter den Linden barriers blocked the path to the gate that stands in the middle of the restricted area. People began climbing over, and no border guards intervened. In front of the gate, however, a line of 50 soldiers stood before us, armed with machine guns. For a moment it was a standoff, but then somebody simply walked between them and they didn't respond. Everybody followed suit, running to the gate. On the wall to the West we could see hundreds of people screaming and yelling. The border police made a futile attempt to stop us from passing under the gate to link up with the people on the wall. They sprayed at us from hoses, which elicited more laughter than fear. The crowd charged, and the guards stood aside. For the first time in 28 years, somebody other than a soldier stood among the heavy columns of the gate.

Meanwhile, some of the crowd from the West began climbing back over the wall to

West Berlin, while we helped others down to join us in East Berlin. Some came over, and the police did not move against us. Most of the people on the wall thought we were from East Berlin, even though we screamed, "We're from the West!" People still feared the wall even as it crumbled. The international press misinterpreted this scene too, claiming the people on the wall were "pulling East Berliners to freedom."

I went back under the gate, where a group of border troops stood. They were all very young, except their leader, who was around 50. He was surrounded by West Berliners and was very nervous. "This is territory of the GDR. It is off-limits. This is a restricted border zone," he said.

Some West Berliners started teasing him: "Come on." "Jump over." "I'll give you a hand."

"In this country," the man barked back, "we have laws, and you better obey them. Leave the area or else it will get dangerous."

The West Berliners continued to taunt the leader and his young troops who stood silently by his side. Some of us warned the hecklers not to make the guards nervous. After all, there was no guarantee they wouldn't use the guns they were carrying. But on this evening nothing could provoke the authorities. The leader blew a whistle and led his troops away in single file and didn't notice that his young charges gave the crowd the thumbs-up symbol while holding their guns to their chests.

The confrontation over, most of us moved into East Berlin in search of a beer. But while the citizens of the GDR enjoyed around-the-clock action on Ku'damm, the Westerners in the East witnessed less-raucous but equally meaningful moments. Turks from the western district of Kreuzberg talked with police officers. The guards at the Soviet Embassy greeted us with a friendly, "Good evening." West German taxis, Mercedes no less, drove up Unter den Linden alongside young West Berliners on bicycles. Back at the border crossing, we passed without a single control. We didn't have passports anyway. A few hours later travel east was once again back to normal with a required visa and the forced exchange of 25 marks.

But in those early-morning hours governments and authority had ceased to exist. It was a moment of timelessness between two eras. As my wife said when we ran toward the Brandenburg Gate, "We are about to enter the Twilight Zone."



When the sun rose that morning, Berlin was in a state of happy chaos and has been so ever since. The East German government gave up checking documents and waved load after load of its citizens through the checkpoints with nothing more than a cursory glance. The crush in the city and on the borders has brought traffic to a standstill. New border crossings are being cut into the wall daily and are immediately surrounded by cheering crowds on both sides. The faces of whole neighborhoods are changing. Wannsee, a quiet residential area backed up against the wall, has come alive with the opening of the Glienicke Bridge, whose only traffic for the past 28 years has been the swapping of spies such as U2 pilot Gary Powers in the early '60s. Suddenly the main street of the area, the Konigstrasse, a six-lane road to nowhere for so long, is busy through the wee hours of the morning. A yellowish haze and the smell of East German automobile exhaust penetrates the air. Buses and subways are hopelessly overloaded, but, at least during the first weekend, nobody seemed to care.

What happened? Why did East German leader Egon Krenz and the Socialist Unity Party (SED) take such a dramatic step at precisely this moment—a step that surprised everybody from West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the man on the street? The events of the last few weeks shed light on this question in hindsight.

Krenz' assumption of power on October 18 did little to pacify the restless population. The new leader was as unpopular as his predecessor. The sacking of economy chief Günther Mittag and his Politburo colleague Joachim Herrmann, who was responsible for gagging the East German media, only seemed to whet the appetite of the people on the streets. The protests throughout the country continued. On November 2 two more top functionaries were sacrificed: Education Minister Margot Honecker, wife of the deposed East German leader Erich Honecker, and Harry Tisch, longtime head of the so-called "Free German Trade Union Organization," a state-manipulated organization with no independent power. Still the people protested, realizing that although the hard-liners had been ousted, Krenz and the remaining Politburo members were anything but reformers. Throughout the streets of East

Berlin demonstrators chanted, "We want new heads, not just new hats!"

Meanwhile, the exodus of citizens to the West continued, as the German Embassy in Prague began to fill up once again with refugees. Under pressure to avoid another embarrassing standoff with them, Krenz went on national television on November 3 and announced new travel regulations permitting East Germans visa-free travel to Czechoslovakia. The government in Prague immediately responded by opening its border with West Germany, and thousands of GDR citizens took advantage of the opportunity.

Although there are no confirmed reports of why the East German Politburo chose to relax travel restrictions, it appears officials thought it best to let the flood dry out by itself. When Krenz announced the new travel regulations, he also offered amnesty for those who had already left the country and promised to draft a sweeping new travel law at the Central Committee meeting scheduled to start on November 7. But the plan backfired. The flow of refugees increased, and the next day more than half a million people gathered in East Berlin's main square for the first officially sanctioned public demonstration in the nation's history. The SED had offered the population too little, too late. Speaker after speaker echoed this sentiment, saying the time had come for the SED to step aside and let others try to tackle the country's problems.

Spinning out of control: If there had been any doubt before, the November 4 protest confirmed that the SED had lost control of the reform debate. The issue was now the party itself. But Krenz, while promising far-reaching reforms, continued to insist that the SED would not relinquish its "leading" role as defined in article one of the constitution. When the Central Committee gathered on November 7 for its tenth conference, the leadership played its final cards.

First the Council of Ministers resigned en masse. A day later the Politburo collectively stepped down, and the old guard was dismissed. As expected, Gorbachov favorite Hans Modrow of Dresden was elected to the Politburo and named head of the Council of Ministers. Krenz, however, maintained his position as general secretary, keeping the party leadership in his own hands. Krenz played the earnest reformer and lashed out at the old guard, which is ironic since he is himself a member. He also hinted at free elections

but never made it clear whether he meant elections within the SED to fill party posts or an open referendum on one-party rule, which is what most people want. Although his statements were greeted with subdued optimism, they failed to return control to the party. The opening of the borders November 9 was a desperate response to this.

The travel decision seems to be a clever move by Krenz, at least in the short run. It has given the government a breathing spell from the tension that had been growing steadily among East Germans. It has also dramatically reduced the number of citizens seeking to emigrate to the West. For the moment at least, the opposition movement has lost some of its "mass" character, as millions of citizens celebrate their newfound freedom. The travel decision was the first real concession the party made to the people and, as Krenz himself said, "this move should show everyone we are serious about reform."

Under the current chaotic circumstances it's unclear whether the people will accept the SED's carrot. Nevertheless, the party is

A film of us storming into East Berlin made world news, but reporters incorrectly claimed we were East Germans going west.

making use of the confusion and is trying to wrest the initiative from opposition groups like Neues Forum and the increasingly outspoken former "bloc" parties such as the East Christian Democratic Union, the Democratic Peasant Party or the Liberal Democratic Party, all of which used to be the SED's silent pawns.

The first step in the party's offensive was a demonstration held in front of the Central Committee building the evening after the Berlin Wall was opened. But instead of rallying the "loyal" around the SED reform program, representatives from the party base in the factories took the new leaders to task. When Gunter Schabowski, Berlin party chief and the Politburo's new media trou-

bleshooter, called on the crowd to preserve party unity, the masses shot back, "We are the party." The party base called on the leadership to schedule a party congress where statutes can be altered and sweeping personnel changes made. Although the leadership hesitated at first, officials later scheduled the congress for December 15-17.

The decision to stage a congress is a serious defeat for Krenz and is probably the final act of his short stint as party boss. Modrow appears to be the obvious choice for the position of general secretary. Like Gorbachov, he would then hold the top position in the government structure—president of the Council of Ministers—and control the party apparatus at the same time. A quiet, modest man who has made a point of refusing the special privileges of party power, Modrow is respected and trusted by the general population. The power of his personality could give the SED enough support to see through a reform program without giving up the reins of power completely. East Germans spoke to on the streets of West Berlin seemed willing to give a Modrow government a chance.

Conversion factor: The power in the GDR lies in the hands of the people, the unorganized masses. They will set the agenda. As the euphoria of recent days settles, they will once again face the GDR's grim economic realities. In fact, the free travel will serve to highlight these problems, since the non-convertible east mark is either rejected outright in West Germany or accepted at an exchange rate of 10-to-1, the East German official rate being 1-to-1.

The first task for the East German government will be to find a way to make the east mark convertible. It seems the only way to do this is to orient prices to true market conditions. Hand in hand with a reformed price policy, East Germany must refurbish its industry to become internationally competitive. With sufficient investment, this needn't be an impossible task. But where will the money come from to purchase the new equipment for the outdated factories? With most of its exports going east, the GDR is sitting on piles of useless currency. It needs Western help in terms of loans or joint ventures.

This makes East Germany opposition leaders nervous. In a recent TV interview, a representative of Thyssen Steel outlined his vision of West German economic assistance this way: "Give us property. We will build or

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refurbish a factory, train your workers and handle all international marketing." Bärbel Bohley of Neues Forum, who was watching via a linkup from East Berlin, wasn't very happy. "We want to reform the GDR," she told the industrialist, "not sell it!"

West German chauvinism and the inevitable reunification debate threaten to cast a shadow over the recent events. The Christian Democrats, in an obvious attempt to profit from the new situation, have been banging the reunification drum, even though East Germans citizens have made it clear that they are not interested in reunification at this time. The word "fatherland" has found its way into Chancellor Kohl's repertoire. Just what the West German population thinks about that was made clear at a rally in mid-November in front of West Berlin's town hall. Kohl's speech was virtually drowned out by boos and whistles. Willy Brandt, also present, received standing ovations. "Willy, Willy," the crowd chanted, and Brandt, who had been Berlin's mayor when the wall was built, was visibly moved.

The new political situation is a great victory for the aging socialist and the Social Democratic Party. It vindicates Brandt's "Ostpolitik" of the '70s—proof that normalization of German-German relations between the two states was in everyone's best interest.

The events of recent days may have launched Berlin Mayor Walter Momper on a national political career. The down-to-earth Social Democrat always seemed to find the right words as the Berlin Wall came tumbling down. While Kohl's "Fatherland" speech insulted the crowd, Momper's words hit a nerve: "We can learn a lot about democracy from the GDR," he said. Later that same evening he attacked Kohl for his gross misunderstanding of the current situation. Kohl responded by questioning Momper's loyalty to the constitution, which includes an article calling for a united Germany. This has only enhanced Momper's popularity.

Germany, both East and West, has changed overnight. The road ahead may be bumpy, but there is no turning back. For the last several days the populations of both nations have been too busy celebrating personal reunions to worry about national reunification and what the future may bring.

As Momper said on November 10, "Today the German people are the happiest people in the world." Now that is a historical first. □

Gordon Lewis is a freelance journalist based in West Berlin.

What blocks reunification now that the wall is gone?

By Diana Johnstone

FOR YEARS EUROPEAN POLITICAL LEADERS have privately nursed a secret nightmare: that some day, millions of young Germans would pour into the streets and the Berlin Wall would come tumbling down.

In public, of course, they claimed to dream of German reunification, counting on the Soviets to keep their dream from coming true.

So what happened the night of November 9, 1989, was not a total surprise—only the when and how were unforeseen.

How it was done elicited unbounded admiration. The East Germans themselves broke open the hated wall with a perfectly modulated counterpoint of people leaving and even more people staying behind and demanding reforms in demonstrations that mounted to a crescendo in East Berlin and Leipzig. Better late than never, the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) chimed in, with the note of liberation providing the jubilant grande finale of the weekend when people walked over the wall.

This demonstration of the German people's capacity for harmonious mass movement is one of the things that makes their neighbors anxious.

For the time being, however, there was comfort in the self-restraint of the East German crowds calling for democratic reforms rather than reunification. Although there could be little doubt that the two German states were moving rapidly toward a deepened symbiosis, the piercing of the wall meant normalization of their border and not reunification.

Reunification is held back by a stack of unfinished business. To start with, there are

international treaty commitments to the World War II victors, whose claims can be superseded only by the peace treaty that was never ratified. Then there are the institutional differences between the two German states that have developed during 40 years as forward outposts of rival systems. The interaction of these restraints may hold surprises.

New ground: Interviewed on French television, the president of the European Commission in Brussels, Jacques Delors, stressed that reunification would be possible only if the people of East Germany decide they want it. Self-determination of the East German people is what matters, he said. After quoting an East German refugee who had told him that yes, the freedom was better in the West but the social security and education were better in the East, Delors suggested optimistically: "How do you know that a reformed communist state in East Germany won't tomorrow create a model that is worth something?"

Delors, whose is politically somewhere between a Christian Democrat and a Social Democrat, can be suspected of looking benevolently toward a viable new model of socialism in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) mainly as the last hope for keeping Germany divided to save his own model of the European Community (EC). The main French motive in promoting European integration through the EC has been to keep the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) turned toward the West and under control. An EC dominated by more than 80 million Germans in a single state could send the French looking for the exit.

For one reason or another, many people on the left side of the political fence in the West would like to see the GDR survive as

an alternative model of democratic socialism. If closer contact with the capitalist West breaks down the social benefits of the GDR, this could tip the balance of forces against social welfare in the West as well.

There is also an interest in allowing the democratization process to develop. "What is emerging in the GDR is the first democracy brought about by the people's own struggle on German soil," Green Antje Vollmer told West Germany's Bundestag in a plea for non-intervention. All too often, *perestroika* has liberated only nationalist demons. There is hope it may work more constructively in the GDR, so long as the protest movement does not get sidetracked from calls for political reform into nationalist demands for reunification.

Business is business: The more serious threat to socialism in the GDR may not be political reunification so much as the stepped-up pressure of West German finance and industry. An editorial in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the favorite newspaper of German bankers and businessmen, said that the people of the GDR must be allowed their right to self-determination but warned that if they vote for opposition groups and reformers whose political program is to "save socialism," they "will have to pay the price" by giving up the high standard of living that seems so attractive to many of them. The newspaper also warned not to expect West Germany "to finance the experiment of a new variant of socialism." It said that while the FRG government should not provide aid, if the citizens of the GDR vote "against any form of socialism" then "enough private capital will be mobilized" to bring up their standard of living.

Opinion is not unanimous in the business community, however. Some potential investors in the GDR first want Western financial aid pumped in to improve infrastructure—especially the particularly inadequate telephone communications.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his finance minister, the Bavarian conservative Theo Waigel, have been stressing that aid would "make no sense" unless the GDR enacts a broad program of economic adaptation.

Capitalist reunification could, theoretically, go ahead regardless of political forms. In any case, far more than with Hungary, Poland or the Soviet Union, the reform process in East Germany will inevitably become part of the contest between social and free-market forces in Western Europe.



The fear is that the predictable economic shocks may stimulate the dreaded nationalist manifestations that so far have been blessedly rare.

If this should happen, would the foreign troops—some 380,000 Soviets in East Germany and a similar number of Americans backed by British and other NATO troops in West Germany—be a stabilizing factor, or an additional catalyst to a comeback of German nationalism?

Directing German "self-determination": NATO has, as ever, responded negatively to Soviet suggestions of a negotiated dismantling of NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances. This refusal implies one of two things: either a permanent division of Germany between two different, if no longer quite so hostile, military alliances, or else the absorption of a reunited Germany into NATO.

This has, in fact, been the Western position ever since NATO was founded, and was the main stumbling block to serious exploration of Soviet suggestions to negotiate a German

The West is becoming peripheral, while Central Europe is coming back to the center.

settlement in the '50s. The one thing Moscow could not accept was to contribute its piece of Germany to a Western alliance directed against itself. But membership in NATO has always been the Western interpretation of German "self-determination."

Just in case the Americans give it all up and go home, the French are trying to draw an additional military dividing line through Germany by giving a military security dimension to the EC. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas called for a "European security concept" to oppose the Soviet conception—vague though it may be—of a "common European house."

Thanking Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov for liberating Eastern Europe by pushing NATO or its equivalent farther East could be the surest way of provoking his overthrow.

Gratitude is not going to determine Western policy. What may count more is a growing, if still muted, German sentiment that NATO is an instrument of U.S., British and French dominance that has become outdated.

The chorus of admonitions to the Bush administration to stop sitting there and do something stems from a sense that time is short to exercise a swiftly waning American influence. Since the Soviet Union has a parallel problem, the two should logically be able to reach some sort of deal to leave gracefully to the benefit of both. So far, however, the way the Bush administration has clung to its regional conflicts and its Coordinating Committee for the Free World Member Countries restrictions on exports to the Eastern bloc, it seems to be little more than a collection of stale lobbies linked to entrenched Cold War interests.

The British and French, as well as the Americans, have not hesitated to remind West German leaders that the 35-year-old treaty ending the post-war military occupation preserved the Western allies' rights regarding Berlin and Germany as a whole, including reunification and a peace treaty. American historian Gordon Craig, in *Der Spiegel*, and West German diplomat and author Gunter Gaus, in the *International Herald Tribune*, have both suggested a Four Power conference of the World War II victors to decide the political shape of Germany.

Meanwhile, the French are demanding an acceleration of the EC unification process, notably in monetary and social matters, to lock the FRG in, while Margaret Thatcher, on the contrary, sees the need to aid Eastern Europe as a timely excuse to stall.

The West is becoming peripheral, while Central Europe is coming back into the center. During the weekend the East Germans penetrated the wall, a meeting was held in Budapest between the foreign ministers of Hungary, Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia in a first attempt to organize south central Europe, with many a nostalgic sigh for the good old days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the same time, West Germany's Kohl was in Poland playing the role of protector of ethnic Germans in Silesia in return for the largest package of financial aid yet made available to the desperate Poles, while a disgruntled Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was picking up crumbs from the White House table.

In a confident editorial, *Der Spiegel's* founding editor Rudolf Augstein noted the inevitable decline of the United States and

the Soviet Union. "Both the German states, reunited or whatever, will be the strongest economic power in the EC. They won't let themselves be prevented from colonizing their Eastern part by means of wicked, at present even decadent, capitalism.... That

would last about five years. With concentrated force, they will then help the democratic states in the East. And economic power always means political power too. This is our political task now."

This is a moment of rapid change when everyone sees through the glass darkly—but some more darkly than others. □

East Europe's metamorphosis will reshape U.S. politics

By David Moberg

WHATEVER HAPPENS NEXT IN EASTERN Europe after a stunning wave of changes that symbolically culminated in the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is clear that the post-World War II world has changed dramatically, especially for Soviet-bloc citizens.

Sooner or later those changes are destined to reshape domestic American politics—and economic life—as well. But given the sorry state of political campaigning here, the impact in the U.S. is likely to come later rather than sooner.

Just as the European communist countries are struggling to figure out their place in the global economy and the relation of political democracy to economic life, there is a parallel—but much different—debate on both those issues that should be taking place in the U.S. but so far has barely started.

The bipolar Cold War world gave the U.S. power even beyond what it would have gained as a result of its size and economic strength. It allowed the U.S. to define the world in stark black (or red) and white terms, bolstering its clout by fostering fear or antipathy towards communism and dependence on U.S. military might.

But now the world is more muddled, with national economies arranged along one or another continuum, not starkly divided. For example, German Social Democratic leader Willy Brandt argues that dealing with the emerging variety of Eastern European economies would be simply an extension of negotiating among Western European economies having different public-private mixtures.

So much of American domestic and foreign politics, for Republicans as well as Democrats, has been predicated on anti-

communism that the West's apparent victory knocks out the underpinnings of domestic politics.

Change of heart: Even before these recent momentous changes, U.S. public opinion was shifting, as registered in surveys such as those conducted by the non-profit group Americans Talk Security. Americans increasingly see economic decline and competition, not the Soviets or military attack, as the paramount threats to the nation. And there have been increasing calls for greater economic and workplace democracy as a partial solution to the U.S.' own economic woes.

The time is especially ripe for disarmament groups, if they can revive themselves, to push for dramatic cuts in nuclear and conventional arsenals; withdrawal of most forces from Europe; planned conversion of the military economy; and deployment of military funds for education, housing, infrastructure, research and other underfunded needs.

What will U.S. politicians do without Cold War anti-communism? Many will abandon it reluctantly, slowing down the necessary adjustments to a new world. Others will be tempted to refocus on terrorists or "drug kingpins" to create a unifying, distracting external foe. But whoever eventually captures the initiative on economic issues will likely be a long-term political winner. Despite the worldwide pendulum swing toward market mechanisms, the global market is in precarious shape right now, and the U.S. faces a growing accumulation of postponed economic problems.

Walter Russell Mead, author of *Mortal Splendor*, provocatively described the U.S.' worrisome place in the world economy in an important two-part article published ear-

Continued on page 11



By Larry Jagan

PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA

IN RECENT WEEKS THE 50,000-STRONG KHMER Rouge guerrilla army has conducted a major new military offensive in Cambodia's western provinces. The border town of Pailin has already fallen, giving the Khmer Rouge complete control of the region's wealthy gem-mining industry.

Military sources in Bangkok say that the Khmer Rouge, after consulting their Chinese

CAMBODIA

patrons, have adopted the strategy of the mujahedin rebels in Afghanistan and are working toward securing an area in which to set up their own provisional government. Although Pailin is no Jalalabad, military experts say the provincial capital Battambang is the real target and that the Khmer Rouge want to take it before Christmas.

Cambodia's defense minister, Tea Banh, recently confirmed the Khmer Rouge successes around Pailin when he said the government forces had made a tactical retreat. The Khmer Rouge army is now closing in on Battambang and claims to have cut the rail and road links between the provincial capital and Phnom Penh.

The Khmer Rouge advance has increased tension in Phnom Penh. The 9 p.m. curfew, relaxed earlier this year, was reimposed in October. "The danger of a return of the Khmer Rouge is very real," says a British aid specialist in Phnom Penh. "Throughout the country there is a constant feeling that something awful is about to happen."

Most Cambodians are convinced that the

Khmer Rouge's return sows dread in provinces

Khmer Rouge are coming back. One man who lost his whole family during the Pol Pot era shrugs his shoulders sadly and says, "History is about to be repeated."

Many people have changed their names as a precaution, and no one wears glasses because those who did previously were brutally killed. Most ordinary Cambodians would flee the country if they could. But as one village leader, who also lost his family during the last Khmer Rouge reign, says, "I have no other choice than to fight to the bitter end."

According to an Irish aid official in Phnom Penh, in the months leading up to the Vietnamese withdrawal, Phnom Penh's residents, convinced that the civil war would soon reach them, stockpiled food and emergency supplies, converting whatever financial assets they had into gold as they prepared for a hasty departure.

Warning signs: According to Khmer Rouge defectors, Pol Pot's guerrillas have infiltrated most Cambodian provinces. Twenty-one-year-old Yang Channa says there are more than 3,500 Khmer Rouge guerrillas in the area of Kompong Cham alone, "waiting to pounce."

For months the Khmer Rouge have built up their military strength along Cambodia's western border with Thailand. According to aid officials who regularly visit the refugee camps along the border, thousands of Khmer people have been forced to join the guerrillas, usually

as porters or scouts.

One doctor working in the camps said there was increasing evidence of military activity among camp inhabitants. He says he has dealt with an increasing number of bullet wounds and injuries from explosions, mines and rockets. Every male over the age of 10 has an automatic rifle. On the black market an AK-47 costs only \$130.

According to local provincial officials, the Khmer Rouge have stepped up their campaign of intimidation in recent months. Instances of house burning, crop destruction and political executions—tactics used by the Khmer Rouge before their victory in 1975 and again in the early '80s—are once more on the rise.

Khmer Rouge attacks have become weekly events in recent months around Sisophon, near the border with Thailand, according to Red Cross officials. Just before the Vietnamese withdrawal the Khmer Rouge raided a nearby village, killing nine people and burning the infirmary. Closer to Phnom Penh, Suay Choenn, a 50-year-old forestry worker, lost his foot to a land mine. "The Khmer Rouge planted a mine near our front door, and my husband stepped on it," says his wife. "Our house happens to be next door to the militia barracks."

In July, guerrillas shot a former village chief in front of his home, 15 kilometers from the provincial capital of Kompong Speu. The number of military encounters around Kompong Speu has grown dramatically this year. The local police chief, who was wounded in one of the attacks, says so far this year his unit has been involved in six or seven engagements with the Khmer Rouge, compared to only three last year.

Aid officials in the country privately confirm

will create absolute panic."

In a recent joint communique, the 11 development agencies working in Cambodia called on their respective governments to prevent the return of the Khmer Rouge. If the international community does not act now, the agencies predict "an escalation of the military conflict which will inevitably lead to more suffering."

The agencies are calling for a cutoff of military aid to all combatants and asking that the Khmer Rouge be disarmed and its leaders tried for genocide. They are also asking that the Khmer Rouge-dominated Coalition for Democratic Kampuchea be removed from its seat at the United Nations.

Despite much progress, the devastating reign of the Khmer Rouge leaves Cambodia with substantial development needs. "With the Vietnamese now gone, there is no longer any excuse for denying development aid to this country that is in desperate need," says British Labour politician Ann Clwyd, who recently visited Cambodia. "Large-scale aid should now be forthcoming from the U.N. and Western governments to supplement the excellent work of small voluntary agencies that have limited resources."

The British government recently signaled its change of heart when the new foreign minister, Douglas Hurd, announced that Britain planned to give the Hun Sen government in Phnom Penh \$250,000 through UNICEF for humanitarian projects. A diplomatic mission from the British Embassy in Bangkok is traveling to Phnom Penh to make a political assessment and oversee the aid work. It is the first diplomatic mission of its kind since 1979. One planned for earlier this year had been vetoed by London.

New direction: Hun Sen's government warmly welcomed the British announcement, while the minister for economic development and aid said he looked forward to resuming formal diplomatic relations and hoped Britain would recognize the Hun Sen government in the near future.

The British government's revised position on Cambodia reflects its final acceptance that Vietnamese troops have actually left the country. "The Vietnamese seem to have pulled their combat troops," says Hurd. Many Western countries are expected to follow Britain's lead.

The recent announcement by the Australian government that it was opening up a trade office in Ho Chi Minh City next month is also seen as a sign that Australia may be planning to formally recognize the Cambodian government. Thailand's Prime Minister Chatichai Choonahavan recently confided privately that his government was seriously considering recognizing Hun Sen in the very near future.

International pressure for the West to change its stance on Cambodia and end the country's 10-year isolation is snowballing. But U.S. policy remains the key to any real change in Cambodia, and as yet the White House does not seem ready to recognize the Hun Sen government.

When questioned about increased U.S. military support for coalition forces led by Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was ousted by the U.S.-backed Lon Nol coup in 1971, a U.S. State Department official said off the record that renewed American arms shipments were intended "to speed up the peace process." If the rest of the world continues to follow the U.S. lead, Cambodia seems certain to return to the days of the Killing Fields. □

Larry Jagan is a freelance journalist specializing in the Far East.

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One man who lost his whole family during the Pol Pot era shrugged and said sadly, "History is about to be repeated."

the increasing number of casualties. They say most are the result of Chinese-made anti-personnel mines planted throughout the western provinces by the Khmer Rouge. The provincial hospitals in the country's western regions are now so overburdened that many new casualties have had to be taken to Phnom Penh.

Imminent danger: The current military conflict is expected to escalate in the coming months. While no one doubts that Phnom Penh is the guerrillas' ultimate target, the actual threat to the country's capital was not regarded as high until recently. But now the Khmer Rouge have penetrated deep into the neighboring province of Kompong Speu and they are trying to get rockets near enough to shell Phnom Penh.

Recent reports from the Thai-Cambodian border say the guerrillas have acquired rocket launchers and anti-aircraft weapons, making an attack on Phnom Penh even more likely. "While the rocket attacks on [the Afghan capital of] Kabul did not severely damage the city's morale, it may be a different story in Phnom Penh," says a European diplomat who was recently in Cambodia. "If the Khmer Rouge only appear to be closing in on the capital it

Economy

Continued from page 9

lier this year in *World Policy Journal*. He argued that the world could splinter into three rival economic blocs—Europe, Japan/East Asia, and the Western Hemisphere—if it does not create a new international order to replace the now-collapsed world financial institutions and policies established after World War II at Bretton Woods.

In this scenario, the United States would be part of by far the weakest bloc; increasingly it looks as if the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe could become integrated with an already-unifying Western Europe. Certainly Western European political leaders, even many conservatives—with the exception of Britain's Margaret Thatcher—seem more open to trade and closer relationships with Eastern Europe that could benefit both blocs greatly. Those ties could mean decreased American political influence and trade opportunities in a growing Europe.

The long road ahead: Dividing the world along East-West conflict lines reduced economic nationalisms over the past several decades. Ending that bipolar conflict, especially when most of the world is suffering from some degree of economic stagnation, could unleash renewed nationalist conflicts, from trade wars among Western capitalist countries to ethnic unrest in Eastern Europe. Such nationalist economic rivalries have often led to war in the past, a dreadful prospect just as East-West conflict has become less likely. And that's on top of the existing powder keg of North-South—or rich-poor nation—tension.

Beyond the prospect of new trade blocs, the European communist countries' moves towards freer trade with the West and reliance on internal market economies will reinforce a global market's dominance over all nation-states, the U.S. included. After World War II, the world economy was ordered partly along lines advocated by John Maynard Keynes—encouraging growth, expanding multilateral trade and promoting economic development and higher real incomes in government-regulated market economies. But as Mead argues, the Bretton Woods order depended on U.S. economic dominance. Especially since 1971, when President Nixon stopped converting dollars into gold, the U.S. has been progressively less able to act as the guarantor and economic locomotive of the world economy, and government macroeconomic regulation everywhere has been weakened by the expansion of a largely unregulated transnational "mega-economy."

Instead of trying to raise the purchasing power of debtors, as the U.S. did for Europe with the post-war Marshall Plan, international financial institutions now replay the disastrous Versailles tactics adopted after World War I and impose austerity on poor nations, Mead writes. Increasingly, governments in advanced countries offer the same austerity to their own workers. As a result, there is a constriction of the global demand needed to sustain growth and permit resolution of thorny problems, from reducing the U.S. trade deficit to restarting Latin American economies.

Supporters of this "neoclassical" austerity will want to push a strict market regimen against not only bureaucratic state economies but also any vestige of social democracy or the welfare state. For example, the *Wall Street Journal* editorialized last week that there is no point pretending "there is a

semi-socialist route to integration with the free world's capitalist system." But the experience Hungarians have already had with such integration is decidedly mixed: despite more freedoms and consumer goods, the country has experienced growing unemployment and an excessive foreign-debt burden. It is unlikely that Eastern Europeans, however hostile they may be to communism, are willing to tolerate a new market-imposed austerity to replace one planned by their own commissars.

Formula for success: If the U.S. pushes an untempered free-market doctrine on the international community, it is unlikely to succeed. And if it did succeed, the global economy would suffer. Mead argues forcefully that the world needs a new, stronger version of the Bretton Woods accord. Such an accord would establish a strong international bank with its own currency, as Keynes advocated, alongside a common fund from

trade-surplus countries to stimulate world demand. It would favor raising the real wages and consuming power of the poor, not slashing them. A new International Trade Organization would regulate trade to protect the environment and workers' rights as well as work out accommodations among countries with different economic systems or resources, including the changing communist economies.

Now economic nationalisms are in many ways superseded by a global economy of transnational corporations and huge institutional investors, capable of swiftly shifting capital or manufacturing facilities around the planet. Increasingly these global powerhouses dictate through the international market what governments can do. Even the U.S. government has lost much of the political sovereignty it so jealously guards.

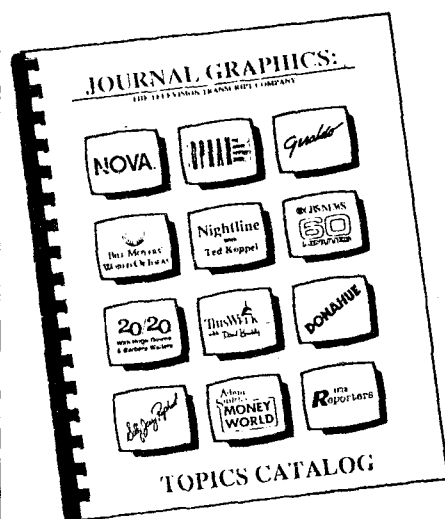
The opening up of Eastern Europe provides a perfect opportunity to renegotiate a

new growth-oriented framework for international trade. But within that framework there must be room to accommodate great national variation—varieties of socialism or social democracy, cultural predilections (such as Japan's desire to support rice farming), and the special needs of the poorest countries. That framework must encourage a global market that links political democracy with raising living standards of those at the bottom, guaranteeing worker rights, protecting the environment and respecting cultural differences.

The U.S. needs to create such a framework for its own economy as well as join in building a new world order where this country will continue to be important but will no longer be able to dictate terms to everyone else. Adjusting to that new reality, along with the end of the Cold War, will be yet another strain on domestic politics in the coming years.

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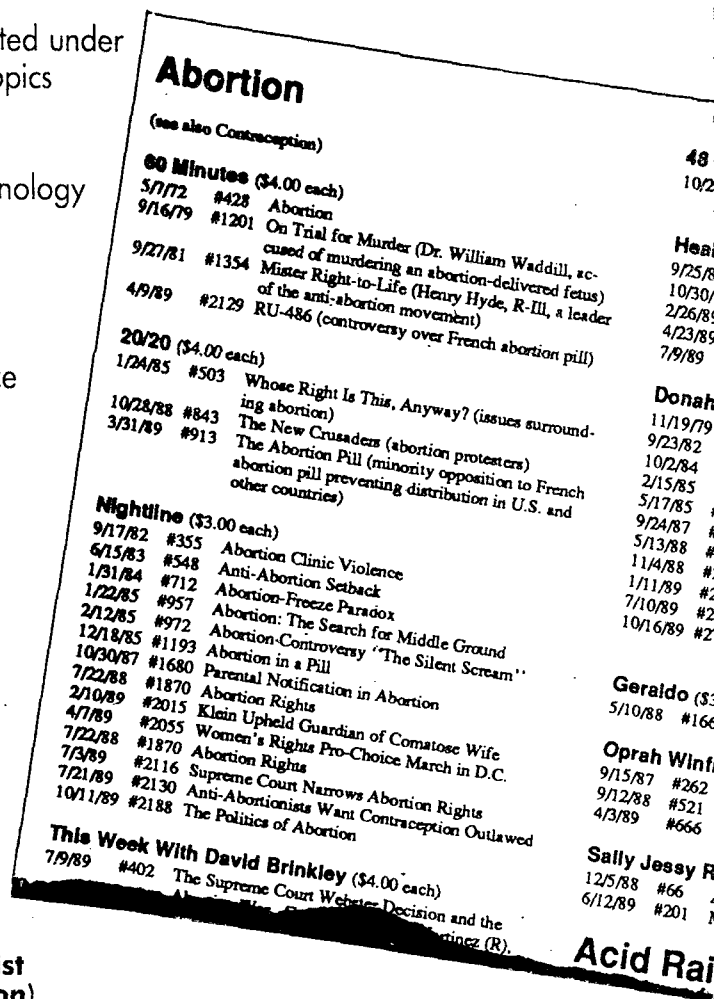
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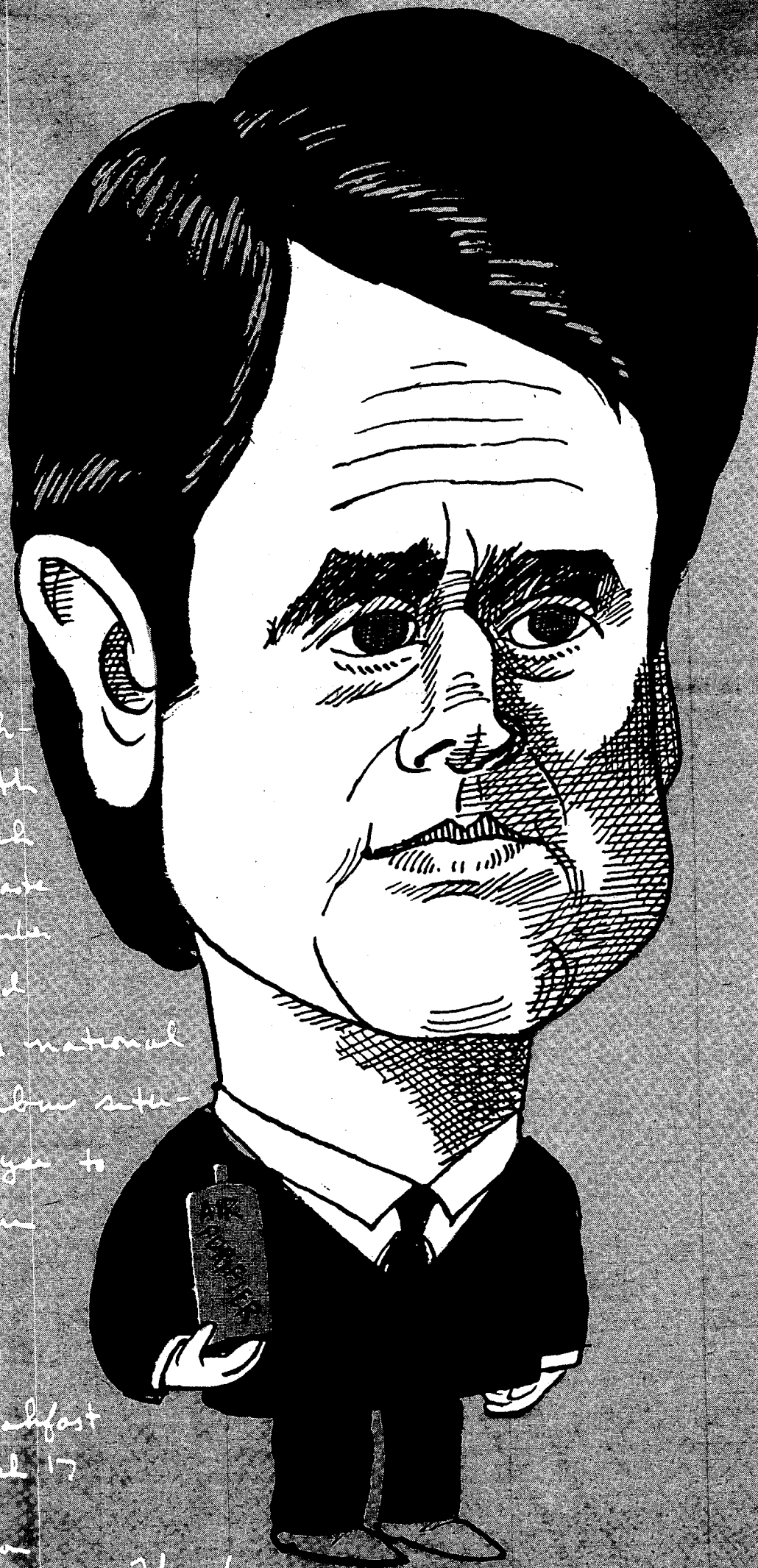
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Protective Instincts at the EPA, Part II

Keeping Reilly Covered



Bill - If at all possible I would like to arrange a breakfast meeting with you, Dean Bunkach (Chairman/CEO, Waste Mgt. Inc. and member of NWE Board) and myself to discuss national implications of above situation and for you to get to know Dean better.

How 'bout Breakfast
March 16, March 17
Crystal Gateway
Manassas, Arlington
(site of our
Annual meeting)

Thank
you

On October 11 *In These Times* reported allegations of criminal and ethical misconduct by U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Administrator William Reilly. The charges, filed by agency whistleblowers William Sanjour and Hugh Kaufman, accused Reilly of allowing top waste-management officials to unduly influence EPA policy and included details of a potential cover-up during a subsequent investigation of Reilly's alleged misconduct.

Sanjour and Kaufman, who submitted their initial charges to the EPA inspector general last May 17, accused Reilly of meeting with executives from Waste Management, Inc., on March 16 to discuss EPA action against a North Carolina law that established strict guidelines for the discharge of hazardous waste into state waters. The law, which limited the size—and profitability—of a GSX Chemical Services, Inc., hazardous-waste treatment facility along North Carolina's Lumber River, was targeted by officials of the waste-management industry who feared that North Carolina's action, if unchallenged, would encourage other states to adopt similar restrictions.

Less than one month after the March 16 meeting, Reilly—whose predecessor in 1988 had abandoned an earlier attack on the North Carolina law because of congressional pressure—reversed EPA policy and allowed GSX to again challenge the North Carolina measure.

In an interview with North Carolina's Winston-Salem Journal, conducted shortly after the EPA's reversal, Reilly admitted that he had been "lobbied [on March 16] to do the very thing that we are doing." Sanjour and Kaufman, citing that interview in their charges, asked the EPA inspector general to investigate whether Reilly had violated EPA ethics codes by participating in the March 16 meeting. Although the investigation is still officially underway, a preliminary report issued August 23 by divisional inspector James F. Johnson effectively cleared Reilly of the charges.

After reviewing a copy of that report, which the EPA was forced to disclose during the North Carolina hearings, Sanjour and Kaufman said the report's "obvious lies and inconsistencies" indicated that the investigation was not a serious examination of the charges but a potentially criminal exercise in "damage control."

Although EPA officials have denounced Sanjour and Kaufman as "reckless" whistleblowers with a penchant for dredging up "poorly substantiated charges," *In These Times* has obtained a 24-page memorandum—authored by Richard Wagner, a high-ranking official within the EPA inspector general's office—corroborating and expanding upon Sanjour and Kaufman's allegations. The following article is based on information from Wagner's memo, as well as internal EPA documents and interviews with officials inside and outside the EPA.

By Jim McNeill

WHAT BEGAN AS A RELATIVELY MINOR investigation into charges of ethical misconduct by EPA Administrator William Reilly has escalated into a scandal that threatens to derail the tenure of the agency's first "environmentalist" head.

Reilly's current troubles stem from a highly irregular preliminary investigation by the EPA inspector general's office into ethics charges filed by agency whistleblowers William Sanjour and Hugh Kaufman last May 17. The investigation effectively cleared Reilly of charges that he was improperly lobbied by officials from Waste Management, Inc., on March 16 to reopen EPA hearings that challenged a North Carolina law restricting the siting of hazardous-waste facilities. But a controversy surrounding that investigation has opened Reilly to more serious criminal allegations that he and other top EPA officials attempted to cover up his alleged cooperation with the waste-management industry.

"They [EPA investigators] must have thought they could keep the investigation from coming to light," said Richard Wagner, a special assistant to Assistant Inspector General John Barden, who oversaw the Reilly investigation. "There are just so many irregularities here that there's no way the people who put [the investigative] report together could have believed it would hold up under public scrutiny."

Wagner, a veteran civil servant and co-author of the EPA investigative manual, sent a 24-page memo on October 18 to the U.S. House energy and commerce subcommittee on oversight and investigations charging that "the investigation appears to have violated many professional and EPA standards, and [has] failed to resolve either the [May 17] allegations or the internal inconsistencies which [the investigation itself] raises." **The lie of Reilly?** The inspector general's report, written by divisional inspector James F. Johnson, has come under fire for its uncritical acceptance of Reilly's assertion that the March 16 meeting had no bearing on his decision to reopen the North Carolina hearings. In that report Reilly contradicted an earlier statement to the *Winston-Salem Journal* in which he admitted, "I was lobbied [at that meeting] to do the very thing that we are doing."

In Wagner's blistering review of Johnson's report, he documented various irregularities, including the revelation that Reilly may have directed his own investigation. Wagner also noted numerous instances in which officials from Waste Management lied about the company's position on the North Carolina hearings. Their desire to reopen the hearings was clearly stated in a briefing paper presented to Reilly at the meeting.

Waste Management's briefing paper urged Reilly to end the EPA's "apparent acquiescence" in the North Carolina case. It described North Carolina as "the first visible domino" in a "full-tilt stampede of states [that are] disallowing facility development." The briefing paper concluded by asking Reilly to "emphatically restate [EPA] opposition to these state actions" by threatening to withdraw North Carolina's authority to legislate hazardous-waste policy.

Despite the briefing paper's clear objective, EPA inspector Johnson's report said Waste Management Chief Executive Officer Dean Buntrock "believes Reilly was not lobbied ... on his decisions concerning North

Carolina or any other official matter." Buntrock "related that his company has no business interests in North Carolina and it would not be a matter he or his staff would want to discuss."

Inspector Johnson also reported that Jim Range, the Waste Management official who handed Reilly the briefing paper, "denied that Reilly was lobbied to pursue [the North Carolina] proceedings" at the March 16 meeting.

But the note that initiated that meeting, written by National Wildlife Federation President Jay Hair, was delivered to Reilly along with a *Washington Post* article outlining a South Carolina hazardous-waste ban that Waste Management officials attributed to the North Carolina law's "domino effect."

The handwritten invitation read, "If at all possible I would like to arrange a breakfast meeting with you, Dean Buntrock (Chairman CEO, Waste Mgt. Inc. and member of the [National Wildlife] Board) and myself to discuss national implication of [the situation outlined in the *Post* article] and for you to get to know Dean better. How 'bout breakfast March 16 [or] March 17?"

Although Reilly admitted receiving Hair's handwritten note, his testimony before inspector Johnson was ambiguous about whether he actually read the note. Reilly, who was interviewed twice by Johnson, claimed on August 1 that "he did not know in advance who would be present at [the March 16] meeting." According to Johnson's report, "Reilly was surprised to see Waste Management officials Buntrock [Range and others] at the meeting."

At a second meeting on August 15, however, Johnson reported that "Dr. Hair probably informed [Reilly] of his intention to have Dean Buntrock... at the breakfast. [Reilly] did not view Buntrock's presence as significant. Reilly was not aware that other Waste Management officials would attend the breakfast prior to arriving."

Confusion: Although Reilly told the *Winston-Salem Journal* in April that he had been "lobbied" at that meeting, EPA investigators reported that by August Reilly "could recall no extensive discussion of the North Carolina hearing... [and related that] the breakfast was social in nature."

In explaining the discrepancy between his statement to the newspaper and his later testimony to EPA investigators, Johnson's report said that while Reilly "could not say he was misquoted" by the *Journal*, "what he did say to the reporter was wrong because at the breakfast meeting" Buntrock opposed the North Carolina hearings.

Wagner in his memo to the House subcommittee suggested that inspector Johnson's acceptance of Reilly's explanation may have been prompted by the administrator's intercession in the investigation. Wagner cited a May 19 memo from Deputy Inspector General Barden that "appears to document that Administrator Reilly may have helped to direct the course of the investigation." Barden's memo, which instructed Johnson to open the inquiry, said his "preliminary investigative plan [was] based on staff discussions with OA," an acronym identified in the EPA directory as "Office of the Administrator." The day the memo was issued, Barden and EPA Inspector General John Martin had met with Reilly and two members of his staff.

According to Wagner, this indicates Reilly "may have directed the investigation which was supposed to resolve allegations against himself." EPA spokespeople, however, denied this charge and said that the acronym OA, as Barden used it, referred to the EPA

Office of Audit—an interpretation of the acronym found nowhere in the EPA directory.

Winston-Salem Journal reporter Jon Healey, who queried Martin about the discrepancy, said the EPA inspector general acknowledged that he had met with Reilly on May 19 but claimed the meeting had been arranged long before Sanjour and Kaufman's charges had been filed. Martin, asked if he discussed the charges with the administrator, told Healey he could not remember if the issue came up at that meeting.

Who's lying? Given the numerous irregularities in Johnson's report—most disturbingly the possibility that the inspector general's office colluded with Reilly while probing his alleged misconduct—Wagner recommended in his memo that an inquiry be "conducted by an independent agency headed by an official not subordinate to Administrator Reilly."

As *In These Times* went to press, the House energy and commerce subcommittee on oversight and investigations, chaired by Rep. John Dingell (D-MI), was considering whether to launch its own investigation into possible ethical and criminal violations by Reilly, as well as the possibility of a cover-up by the EPA inspector general's office.

June 22, 1987—North Carolina enacts a law restricting the discharge of treated hazardous waste into state waters. The law, more stringent than federal standards, limits the size of a proposed GSX Chemical Services facility along North Carolina's Lumber River.

Nov. 17, 1987—After reviewing GSX complaints about the North Carolina law, the EPA opens hearings to determine whether the agency should withdraw North Carolina's authority to control hazardous-waste disposal.

Dec. 23, 1988—After key congressmen inform EPA that there is no legal "basis for the agency's action" against North Carolina, Lee Thomas, William Reilly's predecessor as EPA head, suspends the North Carolina hearings.

Feb. 2, 1989—Reilly succeeds Thomas as administrator.

March 16, 1989—Reilly meets with Dean Buntrock, chief executive officer of Waste Management, Inc., the world's largest disposal firm, at a meeting arranged by Jay Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation.

April 20, 1989—EPA officially announces the resumption of the North Carolina hearings.

April 21, 1989—Interview with Reilly appears in North Carolina's *Winston-Salem Journal*. Reilly expresses surprise that Hair has joined with the leaders of four other environmental groups to denounce EPA's resumption of the North Carolina hearings. Reilly says, "Jay Hair hosted the [March 16 meeting with Dean Buntrock] at which I was lobbied to do the very thing that we are doing."

May 17, 1989—Veteran EPA whistleblowers William Sanjour and Hugh Kaufman, citing the *Winston-Salem Journal* article, file charges of ethical misconduct against Reilly.

EPA spokespeople claimed that such an inquiry would be unnecessary. While neither Martin nor Barden responded to repeated requests by *In These Times* for interviews, John Kasper, an EPA press officer, repeated official assertions that "Johnson's inquiry fully cleared the administrator" of the ethics charges. Kasper cautioned against placing too much faith in Sanjour and Kaufman's claims, saying that "Kaufman's made a career out of launching these kinds of spectacular charges."

Kaufman called Kasper's countercharge "classic." "They're not specifically refuting any of the charges," he said. "They're just calling the accusers a bunch of liars. It's like a three-year-old screaming, 'Liar, liar, pants on fire.' Not a very strong defense in my opinion."

"Even if you accept all of [Johnson's] contradictory evidence as true," said Kaufman, "at best you prove that Reilly was an incompetent boob instead of a venal one. But whether he's incompetent or venal the consequences for the environment are the same. When the nation's top environmental cop can be led by the nose by the Dean Buntrocks of the world, then the environment is in serious trouble." □

May 19, 1989—Reilly meets with Inspector General John Martin and Assistant Inspector General John Barden. Later, Martin tells a reporter he cannot recall if Sanjour and Kaufman's charges were discussed at the meeting.

—That same day inspector Barden drafts a memo instructing James F. Johnson, divisional inspector general for investigations, to open a preliminary inquiry into the charges raised by Sanjour and Kaufman. Barden tells Johnson that the inquiry's "investigative plan [is] based on staff discussions with OA." The EPA directory identifies the acronym "OA" as "Office of the Administrator." But EPA officials later claim that OA, as Barden uses it, refers to the Office of Audit.

Aug. 23, 1989—Inspector Johnson files a report clearing Reilly of the ethics charges. Despite numerous contradictions contained in the report, Johnson says he is closing the inquiry "because no evidence was found to support the complainant's allegations."

Sept. 28, 1989—Sanjour and Kaufman—after reviewing a copy of Johnson's August 23 report, which was forwarded to them by officials who forced its disclosure during the North Carolina hearings—file a new round of charges. They accuse the inspector general's office of rigging the outcome of the inquiry to clear Reilly of the May 17 allegations.

Oct. 18, 1989—Richard Wagner, a special assistant to Barden, sends a memo to a House subcommittee corroborating and expanding upon Sanjour and Kaufman's September 28 charges. Wagner alleges that Johnson's "investigation lacked independence, did not resolve the allegations [against Reilly]... and should [not] have been closed."

—J.M.

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THE CHANGES IN POLAND
ARE AMAZING —



A COMMUNIST COUNTRY GOING
DEMOCRATIC, EMBRACING THE FREE
MARKET...



ENCOURAGING CAPITALISM AND
BEING GOVERNED BY...



...UNIONS



Debate over socialism's future has only begun

The removal of the Berlin Wall symbolizes Communism's failure. In the East, this failure has been experienced both as a crisis of the economy and as an increasingly intolerable political system, one in which civil society—institutions and social forces independent of the state—has barely existed. The rulers of Eastern Europe's one-party states, unaccustomed to having their control over all aspects of daily life challenged, have until recently fought reformers tooth and nail. But *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Soviet Union have created this century's first real domino effect, with one Eastern European country after another falling toward pluralism and some form of a market economy.

Solidarity's political victory in Poland inspired the dissolution of the Communist Party in Hungary. The Hungarian promise of multi-party elections acted as a catalyst for change in East Germany. And now East Germany's example shows signs of forcing changes on Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

In the United States, these developments have been welcomed not only as a victory for democracy but especially as a triumph of capitalism over socialism. This usually takes the form of declarations about the triumph of the free market, which in fact has been at the heart of proposed economic reforms in the Soviet Union and its Eastern satellites. But the free market has no specific meaning. It can mean everything from the policies of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan to Swedish pluralism to the Chinese experiment in a free market under a Communist Party dictatorship.

Capitalist values have permeated talk about the free market in Eastern Europe, especially among former Solidarity organizers in Poland, as Lawrence Weschler points out in a recent issue of the *New Yorker*. He describes the demise of the egalitarian spirit that characterized Solidarity in its early years and its transformation into the capitalist ethos. A former leading underground columnist gives three

reasons for the abandonment of Solidarity's earlier focus on a workers' movement. First, he told Weschler, the party's 1984-85 economic reforms were having some effect. "They were allowing an expansion of private shops as a way of addressing certain kinds of shortages and venting steam." The psychological effect of this was profound, he said. "People started asking, 'Why not me?' and, more important, 'If it ever is me, how am I going to feel about being held back by all those egalitarian strictures?'"

Second, when Solidarity seemed to be defeated, people began to believe the party's propaganda and to disown their earlier idealism. Third, this left the market economy as a substitute ground for opposing the party and Communism.

The result is a Polish romance with the free market, but without much understanding of what it means. For example, Weschler relates a discussion with some workers at the Huta Warszawa steel mills. Asked about the free market, the workers said they favored it absolutely. But what if that might mean the closing of the mill? "No problem," they replied. "The state will find us some other work."

The idea that society has a fundamental responsibility for the welfare of its citizens is taken for granted throughout Eastern Europe. That is one reason why even the Communist Party's opponents in East Germany oppose reunification with West Germany. They want to retain extensive state involvement in the economy to guarantee social rights. Of course, they want some form of democratic socialism, rather than the one-party authoritarianism they have known under Communist rule. But they do not want to be subsumed in a single capitalist state. And now that the gates are open and freedom of travel is seemingly assured, more East Germans are returning home than are leaving.

In short, the debate in Eastern Europe over the future of socialism—and even communism—is just beginning. As Lech Walesa said two weeks ago in Gdansk, "It all depends on what we understand by 'communism.' If you understand the monopoly of one party, a monopoly over everything, then that has been over for a long time. It cannot be maintained." But if communism found a way to stop limiting freedom and pluralism and corrected "a few other minor things," Walesa continued, then "it might not be entirely a stupid ideology some day, when people forget about all its sins."

LETTERS

Working assets

DIANA JOHNSTONE (ITT, NOV. 1) MAKES SOME wild statements—the Cold War didn't work, the space shuttle didn't work, etc.

The Cold War worked. We didn't have a hot one. (This is from a veteran of World War II.) There has been no major war since Vietnam. The Cold War worked. Russia has been fairly well contained. (Of course, there is Cuba.) Now she seems to be shrinking.

The space shuttle works. Only someone who has been studying the problems of getting out there long before the effort to reach the moon was started can know how well the space shuttle works. The ascent to the moon—it is lucky for us that Bible prophecy said that it would be accomplished—went off surprisingly trouble-free. The one bad accident of the space shuttle was caused largely by the pressure of politics. The space shuttle works.

Donald Carl
Boston

He's got a little list

STEVE BROUWER (ITT, OCT. 25) BELIEVES THAT bankers who are kingpin, drug-money launderers should get the death penalty if it is also going to be applied to drug dealers. I agree. I personally oppose the death penalty, but if we have it let's apply it equitably. It might also be wise to apply it to anyone found to be involved in the contras' drug-running. It ought to be applied to Oliver North and company (including Ronald Reagan if found to be involved) for any Nicaraguan deaths that resulted from the illegal aid to the contras' operation.

Further, businesspeople who are sufficiently responsible for the deaths of their employees or consumers should be executed. Not one executive of Johns Manville was executed for knowingly and secretly exposing workers to dangerous levels of asbestos particles, thereby causing numerous deaths. Why not? Because the executives were affluent and white? In states with the death penalty and the ballot initiative process, an attempt to get a referendum on the ballot applying the death penalty in some of these cases might be worthwhile.

As a disproportionate number of people who are executed are members of minority groups, perhaps this demand for equity would be a good cause for the minority-

owned media to champion. Those law-and-order conservatives who support the death penalty should support this cause if they are not hypocrites.

Paul Tracy
Oceanside, Calif.

Getting media attention

WILLIAM GASPERINI'S ARTICLE (ITT, NOV. 8) made it very clear that the contras have continued to kill and kidnap after the cease-fire was signed. But the U.S. mainstream media has ignored these atrocities. While Ortega's behavior at the summit in Costa Rica may not have been conducive to building stability with the other paragons of democratic virtue in the region, he did succeed in bringing attention to the continued bloodshed at the hands of the contras. Despite all the righteous blather from the media calling Ortega every kind of idiot, they also finally had to report that the contras have not honored the cease-fire and have killed more than 700 people since March 1988.

Having been to Nicaragua myself and met people who have lost loved ones to contra attacks, I don't think I could have been as patient as Ortega has been. It is hard for me to fault Ortega for acting the way he did.

Roger Morris
Bloomington, Ind.

Another modest proposal

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS RECENTLY REPORTED THAT Alexandra Biryukova, a Soviet deputy prime minister, had completed a shopping spree in Britain during which she purchased for her government some 50 million pairs of

panty hose, 1.7 million pairs of women's shoes and assorted other consumer items totaling more than \$160 million. Biryukova explained that these purchases were aimed at alleviating some of the shortages in consumer goods that plague the Soviet economy and assessed her trip as "very useful and effective."

While mulling this over, a thought occurred to me: we know that while the Soviets lack many consumer goods, they have ample armaments. Our military and intelligence communities inform us that we must keep spending a couple of hundred billion dollars yearly just to keep up with their powerful "conventional" and "nuclear" armaments.

It's true, Mikhail Gorbachov keeps scaring the daylights out of these communities by threatening to reduce the Soviet arsenals drastically. In explaining their lack of enthusiasm for these unilateral Soviet moves, our leaders point out:

a) we can't really trust Gorbachov to reduce his armaments as much as he says he has, or will, and

b) even if he does shrink them, he enjoys such a vast superiority, especially in conventional arms, that reducing them by a few tens of thousands of tanks, cannons, divisions and the like can have little effect on the existing imbalance of forces.

From this our leaders conclude that the only prudent course for the U.S. is to sink a few extra billions into our own conventional arms, beef up the research on Star Wars and protect them all with a hundred or so Stealth bombers at about a billion bucks a crack.

To save us this money, I suggest we take a leaf out of Biryukova's book. Since the Soviets have too many armaments and too

few consumer goods, why don't we just buy half or more of their arms in exchange for the cars and other consumer items that are beginning to crowd car dealers' lots and other warehouses?

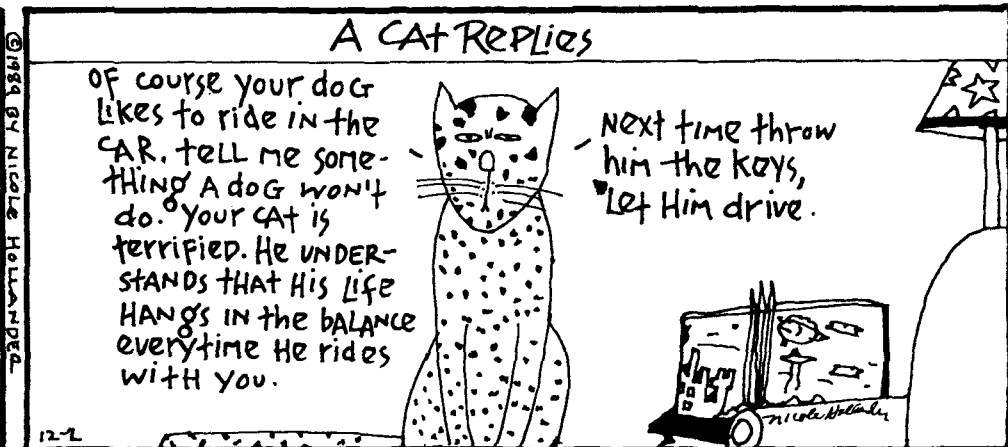
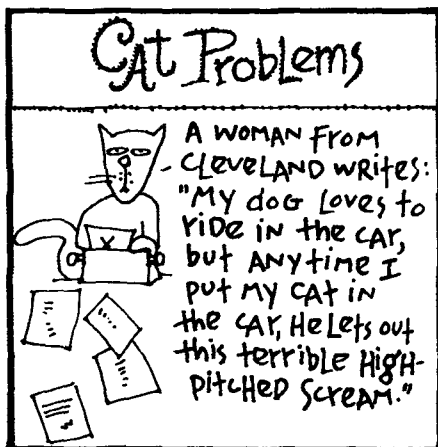
There can be no concern about the quality of these arms. Our defense maven have assured us for years that their armaments are incredibly efficient and dangerous. This would also remove our worry about Gorbachov's veracity as we could keep an accurate count of what they sell us. And as their loss in military supplies would be our gain, this would give us a double bang for our bucks.

I would bet that we could get the stuff at a fraction of the price we are planning to pay for arms over the next decade—and that's without figuring in the inevitable overruns. Of course, a lot of workers would be, as they say, "excessed" from our armament industry, but most or all of them could find jobs in the industries that produce the consumer goods required for our end of the exchange. That would be better, both for them and for the rest of us, as the reduction in our military budget would make funds available for day-care centers, homes for poor folks, reduction of pollution, etc.

I must admit, I haven't figured out exactly how this arrangement would add to the wealth of the folks who have been ripping us off in and around the Pentagon and that of their buddies in the boardrooms of the "defense" corporations. But then Gorbachov hasn't figured out what he'll do with their counterparts in the military, party and industrial bureaucracies of the Soviet Union either.

Gordon Haskell
Santa Cruz, Calif.

SYLVIA



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—Sir Anthony Parsons, *London Sunday Times*

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Left must remain critical in Germany and elsewhere

By Diana Johnstone

THERE IS LITTLE POINT IN USING *IN THESE TIMES*' limited space to justify what is already glorified in the establishment media. Gordon Lewis' glowing account (*In These Times*, Nov. 8) of East German refugees' winning attitudes (the talented woman who wants to "get ahead without having to get involved in politics") differs from mainstream media only by its attack on the West German left for making inhospitable cracks at newcomers' allegedly material motivations. In his contagious sympathy for the fugitives from the East, Lewis distorts and dismisses left positions on immigration and reunification.

Citing wisecracks about the refugees' consumerist aspirations, Lewis maintains: "Such polemics hide the left's difficulty in determining just where the dividing line between political and economic motives lies." This is not just the left's difficulty, and the answer is not provided by concluding, on the basis of one example, that there is no real difference at all. Saying that political and economic refugees are, after all, the same in effect undermines the very concept of asylum for fugitives from genuine political persecution who risk torture and execution. Moreover, whether the motives are political or economic, there are enormous differences of degree. People who are literally starving in many parts of the world

could also, if they had the strength or the access to the media, argue that their plight stems from political mismanagement. Rich Western countries are not about to take them in, however.

As usual, employers welcome free migration as enlarging the labor pool and potentially lowering their costs, while workers feel threatened. The left, defined as the so-

Being on the left implies being sensitive to the collisions between liberty and equality.

cially critical opposition within the dominant system, is constantly embarrassed by such conflicts between the values of individual freedom and the values of social welfare. The left is for both. But this does not mean they coincide. Being on the left implies being sensitive to the collisions between liberty and equality and seeking ways to reconcile them. It means being sensitive to the needs of the socially weak as well as of the go-getters.

When the left fails, as it often does, to find solutions to the conflicts between individual freedom and the social distress inevitably engendered by free enterprise, the far right comes along with its own heavy-

handed solutions. Immigration and asylum are becoming more and more explosive political issues in all the rich countries. Some of West Germany's Social Democrats fear, not without cause, that resentment at competition for jobs and especially housing will make more and more working-class voters switch to the extreme-right Republicans.

Lewis refers in passing to the suggestion of immigration quotas, made by one isolated member of the Berlin Alternative List (AL). But he makes no mention at all of the more broadly held left policy position, advocated by West Berlin's Social Democratic Mayor Walter Momper and his SPD-AL coalition government, that the border between the two German states should be made into a normal border such as exists between the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and Austria or Switzerland. East Germans could freely enter the FRG and even stay if they find jobs and housing, but without the current privileges and financial incentives that cause resentment among less-fortunate citizens of the FRG. The opening of the border by the German Democratic Republic (GDR) is a first big step toward such a normalization. Political reforms will be another. The final step would be for the FRG to recognize GDR citizenship.

Lewis opposes this left position implicitly by his advocacy of reunification. "Accepting a permanent two-nation status in Germany would mean imposing a state on the East German people against the will of the majority," he writes. As proof, he cites the unsurprising lack of GDR patriotism on the part of people he talked to who were moving to the FRG.

This is the position of the German right,

which dangerously simplifies an extremely complex historical, political and legal situation.

Moreover, it is grossly misleading to write, as he does, that "the left ... resolutely opposed reunification from the start." It should at least be recalled that the Social Democrats were "from the start" much more committed to a reunited Germany than the Christian Democrats. The subject is too vast to cover here, but the primary responsibility for dividing Germany into two states is at the very least debatable.

It is true that in more recent years most of the left, especially the younger left, is opposed to reunification. But Lewis dismisses their misgivings all too lightly. "Underlying this position is the very non-socialist assumption that the German people as a whole are incapable of change," he writes.

The "non-socialist" is a bit annoying, implying that Lewis is arguing on socialist grounds, when there is nothing to indicate this other than his attacks on socialists and "the left."

In any case, his remark is beside the point. The question is not whether "the German people as a whole are incapable of change." Of course they are capable of change, very much so—which is precisely what worries some people who recall just how drastically the Germans changed during Hitler's era. The real questions involve conflicting historic rationales behind the two German states and the ways to bring them into a peaceful and lasting harmony.

Perhaps the Nazi past makes the West German left too wary of calls for reunification. But *In These Times* should help Americans understand their misgivings rather than dismiss them as foolish.

Left's hallmark cynicism muddles German question

By Gordon Lewis

IN HER CRITIQUE OF MY ARTICLE ON EAST German refugees, Diana Johnstone takes exception to my "glowing" account of a talented young woman who wants to get ahead without getting involved in politics. This kind of sarcastic cynicism is just what I criticize among many in the German left. These refugees are catalogued and put in an ideological cubbyhole without much more than a glance. Johnstone implies this young girl is apolitical, but that is not what I was trying to say. In the East Germany she lived in, getting "politically involved" didn't mean critical political activism but toeing the party line and kowtowing to some functionary. Beate's story was meant to show the problems some have in trying to be two people at once.

Here in Germany, the children of 1968 make up much of the leadership of the Green/Alternative List. They are approaching or are already over 40. They are doctors and lawyers—comfortable people living in large apartments in the best parts of town. They have lost contact with the young generation, as many of them readily attest. Their politics are comfortable too. Sipping Nicaraguan coffee and reading the *Tages-*

zeitung, they pat each other on the back, but the cutting edge—the revolutionary potential of their movement—is gone. They are "go-getters" just like Beate and the others Johnstone seems to object to.

She takes exception to my pointing out the left's problem in determining the difference between political and economic refugees. She says this isn't just a problem of the left—absolutely true. But as a socialist, I expect more from the left than from the right. Just because the opposing side has problems with an issue is no excuse for one's own failures. Anyway, the funny thing is that the left and right have swapped arguments. The positions the left once rejected in respect to Third World refugees are suddenly appearing in their own comments on East bloc emigration. It was once the right that demanded proof of "genuine political persecution," closing borders or deporting those who did not meet this criterion. The left, on the other hand, traditionally argued that politics and economics are inseparable.

Johnstone cites the differences in scale between the truly oppressed and politically endangered and the people of East Germany. There is an element of truth in this argument. However, as rich nations and former imperialists, we in the West should

be capable of integrating many more people than we do today. I do not believe the East Germans will take away the places of others. As we now see, after the events in Berlin, many are returning home and very few are arriving.

Being part of the left, Johnstone continues, "means being sensitive to the needs of the socially weak as well as the go-getters." Precisely! But what many in Germany's AL/Green movement don't consider is that the "go-getters" can have positive effects too. They are taxpayers filling up government coffers that threatened to dry up as West Germany's population ages. This money can be used to initiate new social programs—for Third World refugees, for instance. Instead of harping on the East Germans, many among the AL/Greens should get busy drafting social legislation.

Johnstone and I define the left differently. She says it is "the socially critical opposition within the dominant system." Does that mean that in a left-dominant system the right is the left? Are the contras the left because they are socially critical of the dominant Sandinistas? My definition of the left is of an opposition based on the ideas of socialism—a fine yet important distinction.

Johnstone goes on to say that I advocate German reunification. I advocate nothing of the sort. Reunification, federation, two independent states, a European house—all these options should be left open. Let the people decide this issue when the time is right.

Johnstone quotes my statement that "im-

posing a state on the East Germans would mean going against the will of the majority." She fails to mention my statement that this applies to an East Germany that developed on its own, a social-market economy similar to that of West Germany. The thrust of my argument was that this is an East German issue to be decided by the East Germans in free and open debate, not by any political party in the West. What irks me about the Green position is not the call for two states but that they take this stand out of fear of reunification of any kind, not considering the human element involved. That is a big problem for the Greens. Instead of making concrete politics for real people, they get bogged down in laborious abstract ideological discussions. This makes them great critics but terrible managers.

As for my alleged sympathy with the refugees from the East, it's no greater sympathy than I have for people from elsewhere. Does Johnstone somehow think that Third World refugees have a deeper social consciousness than the "go-getters"? Immigrants, regardless of where they come from, are generally "go-getters," otherwise they wouldn't have the strength to leave.

Johnstone objects to my statement that many on the left believe the Germans are incapable of change. She is annoyed that I claim this is a non-socialist assumption, but it is. It attributes past events to some nebulous "German problem" and downplays the concrete economic and political facts that came together at a particular period in history and led to the rapid rise of Hitler and German fascism.

Free speech and official offal

"The common notion that free speech prevails in the United States always makes me laugh," H.L. Mencken complained in his diary in April 1945. "It is actually hedged in enormously both in peace and war. ... The American people, I am convinced, really detest free speech. At the slightest alarm they are ready and eager to put it down. ... War, in this country, wipes out all the rules of fair play, even those prevailing among wild animals. Even the dissenters from the prevailing balderdash seek to escape the penalties of dissent by whooping up the official doctrine."

True enough, though Mencken was being, as usual, a bit hard on the American people. Even if someone is served up offal on a daily basis, it scarcely means he does not crave a decent meal. The crucial words in Mencken's note are those about "the slightest alarm" and war wiping out all the rules of fair play. Witness what happened at the end of October when Daniel Ortega used the occasion of a two-day meeting in Costa Rica of heads of state of the Western Hemisphere to announce his government was ending its 19-month cease-fire against the contras. There was scarcely an editorial writer or columnist in the U.S. who did not hasten to whoop up the official doctrine, which was that once again, just as Nicaragua was finally heaving itself into the good graces of the international community, Ortega had shot himself in the foot.

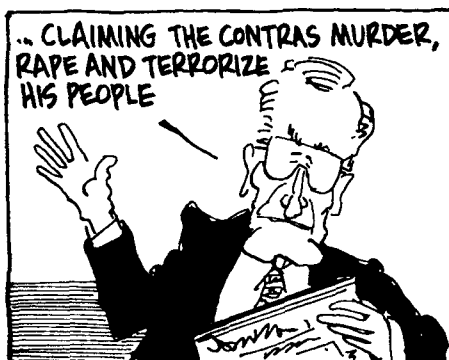
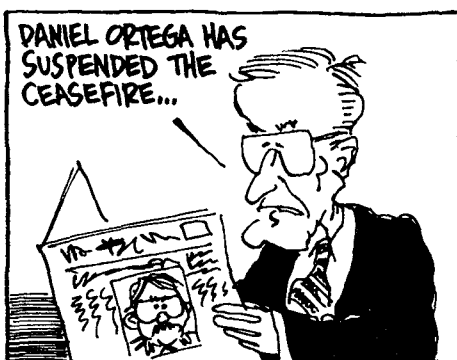
The thesis that Ortega keeps spoiling things is by now a whiskered one. When he went to Western Europe and the Soviet Union in 1985, shortly after Congress voted down military aid to the contras, this too was ridiculed in the U.S. press as another foot-shooting (or nose-thumbing, depending on anatomical preference). Documents unearthed in the Iran-contra scandal showed that the Reagan administration was devoting itself on an hour-by-hour basis to flouting that congressional ban, organizing mayhem and murder inside Nicaragua. But none of the whoopers of official doctrine conceded in retrospect that Nicaragua was entirely correct in believing a congressional ban did not mean an end to contra attacks, and therefore a trip to Europe and Moscow in search of support was a sensible idea.

In fact, if Ortega puts his foot anywhere but in the tracks prescribed for it in the Washington script, the howls go up that he's shot it anyway. In a rather elephantine essay in irony, the news commentator Daniel Schorr suggested Ortega's marksmanship could best be explained by assuming he was in fact a plant of the CIA. Part of Schorr's evidence for the commandante's supposed bumbling was his "endorsing the massacre of pro-democracy students in Beijing in 1989." Readers of this column may recall that this was a lie disseminated and later retracted by the Associated Press, which had misrepresented *Barricada* and distorted Sandinista reactions.

So what was Ortega meant to be spoiling this time? Recall that the U.S. assiduously opposed Esquipulas II, popularly known as the Arias peace plan, which called for all countries in the region to take certain steps toward securing peace and installing democratic procedures. By early 1988, the Arias plan was dead, and instead, in March 1988, came the Sapoa agreement. There would be a cease-fire. The U.S. Congress agreed

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



that the contras would be maintained by our old friend "humanitarian aid" and voted \$47.9 million, most of it to be distributed by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Nicaragua observed the cease-fire; the contras did not. The latter's function has always been the one forthrightly expressed to the *Los Angeles Times* on May 28, 1988, by a Defense Department official: "Two thousand hard-core guys could keep some pressure on the Nicaraguan government, force them to use their economic resources for the military and prevent them from solving their economic problems—and that's a plus."

It would not have been hard for the press here to report exactly how and when the contras were ignoring the cease-fire. That excellent U.S. organization, Witness for Peace, has volunteer investigators and observers living in Nicaragua and documenting the war. Since last April 13 they have recorded 59 attacks by the contras, adding

Poor Nicaragua. Under U.S. rules upheld by the president, it is supposed to endure without response the contra onslaughts and suffer without complaint the deluge of U.S. dollars designed to buy the upcoming election for U.S. clients in Nicaragua.

that these are only the ones they have managed to document, but that "we hear of many, many more."

Since the start of the cease-fire on March 23, 1988, the contras have killed 149 civilians, wounded 31 and kidnapped 364. Military casualties bring the death list to about 730 since the cease-fire. More recently, as even habitual lapdog institutions like the *Washington Post* have reported, they have been especially assiduous in attacking San-

dinista preparations for the election. It was the killing of 18 Sandinista militia on their way to register that finally prompted Ortega's decision to end the cease-fire. These assaults presaged even more determined attacks. The State Department recently reported 2,000 contras had entered Nicaragua since early October.

What about the U.S. Congress, which said, when it okayed yet another transfusion of "humanitarian aid" to keep armed contras in the field, that it would keep a vigilant eye on the situation? On July 14, Rep. Peter

A. DeFazio (D-OR) sent a letter, co-signed by fellow members of the House, to Secretary of State James Baker chronicling several contra attacks since April 13 and requesting investigation of them and assurance that delivery of U.S. aid to those units would be stopped.

This is where we see the particular force of Mencken's lines that "even the dissenters from the prevailing balderdash seek to escape the penalties of dissent by whooping up the official doctrine." There were 83 co-signers to Rep. DeFazio's letter in July, but in November only 29 members of the House could be found to vote against a resolution condemning Ortega's announcement. The Senate allowed nothing to mar the unanimity of its outrage at a government presuming to defend the lives of its citizens, voting to condemn Nicaragua 95-0.

Poor Nicaragua! Under U.S. rules upheld by the president, it is supposed to endure without response the contra onslaughts, tolerate U.S. sabotage of the recent Tela regional accords requiring contra demobilization by early December, and furthermore suffer without complaint the deluge of U.S. dollars designed to buy the upcoming election for U.S. clients in Nicaragua. According to the Boston-based Hemisphere Initiatives, these clients have received about \$26.2 million in U.S. aid since the 1984 elections. This is roughly equivalent to a foreign country injecting over \$2 billion into a U.S. election campaign, an amount more than four times the \$457 million spent on all U.S. congressional races in 1988.

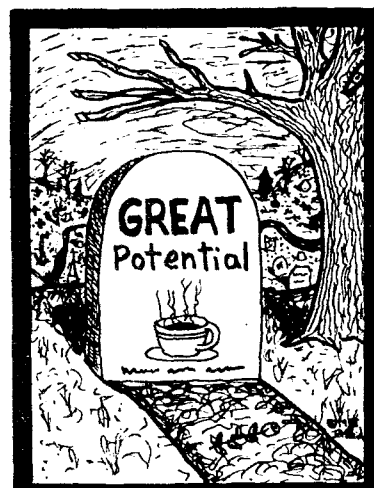
And if Nicaragua objects to this attempt at wholesale purchase of its election? Why, Danny Ortega will have demonstrated he's not serious about democracy.

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By James North

Middle class stalls in middle of road

THERE WAS A DEPRESSING newspaper item the other day about parents who send their one- and two-year-old kids to classes called French for Tots and Mozart for Children. Child-development experts agree that formal instruction creates stress in children who are barely out of infancy. But the ambitious parents insist on taking Head Start to such ludicrous extremes, giving their offspring a jump in the competition for the exclusive nursery schools and private schools that will eventually land them in the Harvard or Stanford classes of the 21st century. There is no doubt that some of these pushy parents include ex-hippies and other one-time rebels, people who might remember with guilt that 20 years ago they would have decried competition even at the adult level.

Smooth and original: Barbara Ehrenreich's brilliant new book is a social history of the professional middle class over the past several decades. It's an ambitious and largely successful effort to discern a coherent and revealing pattern in the changing habits and thinking of this group from the '50s to the present. Her book is one that historians decades from now will find indispensable in understanding our America. She brings to bear a smooth writing style, perfected in her previous mag-

azine pieces and books about feminism and class. Her attitude toward her subject is original and critical without condescension.

She opens with a rough description of the professional middle class, a group that she estimates constitutes about 20 percent of the Ameri-

CLASS

can population. Its members include middle managers in medium and large enterprises; lawyers, teachers and doctors; and people in advertising and public relations; as well as administrators and bureaucrats in a government sector that has greatly expanded in recent decades.

Members of the professional middle class differ in income, outlook and status and certainly in the monetary value of what they do. A partner in a corporate law firm may seem to share little with someone who teaches English in an urban public high school. But there is one major, overriding common feature: you cannot simply be born into the professional middle class. You have to earn credentials, pass tests, acquire certain degrees to be admitted.

Contrast this with the old entrepreneurial middle class, which is certainly still a factor in American

life, even though it has been declining in relative size and weight throughout the century. If you own a small roofing business, you can pass it along to your son, assuming he has a minimum of sagacity. (Even if he doesn't, all he needs is enough intelligence to hire an office manager who does and he can look in from the country club now and then.)

But if you are a corporate lawyer, you have to get your son into the right college and the right law school. Your connections can help, but he still has to pass the exams. No wonder your ears will perk up when you overhear the guy in the next office talking about French for Tots. (On the other hand, if you make enough money—and you might have in the past decade of unregulated capitalistic frenzy—you could just set him up in real estate, and if he does well enough he can rise into the upper class, where he doesn't have to worry about credentials anymore.)

Cretinous credentialism: Ehrenreich notes the huge irony here: the professional middle class itself helped erect the credential barriers that prevent its children from entering automatically. Restricting entry, as in a medieval guild, raises status

and income. During this century, one profession after another has set standards that limit the number of, say, doctors or lawyers, to the advantage of those who do make it. As Ehrenreich points out, it is not at all obvious that practicing physicians really need to know organic chemistry in the excruciating detail that their pre-med programs require.

We can see the limiting process at work in journalism, where credentialism is a more recent development. The old-time ink-stained wretches learned their craft out on the streets; Mike Royko, the syndicated *Chicago Tribune* columnist who is the best in the nation, never finished college. But as pay and prestige have increased, employers have come to expect a B.A. or even an advanced degree in journalism for

Fear of Falling is a brilliant social history of the professional middle class over the past several decades. It's an ambitious and largely successful effort.

entry-level jobs.

Ehrenreich goes on to show that the professional middle class can suffer anxiety because it feels that its standing is precariously based on credentials rather than on the solidity of property. This anxiety can manifest itself in unusual and not immediately obvious ways. Take for instance the matter of dieting. Ehrenreich reminds us that the '50s were surely the first time in history when large numbers of people felt they weighed too much. She argues that dieting, quite apart from its health benefits, represented "an exercise in control, an assertion of dignity in the face of powerful external forces."

She also identifies another feature of the professional middle class: it has a large voice in defining American reality. Its members are the scriptwriters and journalists and producers and other "opinion leaders" who purport to show Americans who they are.

Distorting mirrors: Anyone who tried to get a realistic picture of America in the '60s by consulting *The Beverly Hillbillies* or *My Three Sons* would not think we are talking about mirrors here. But Ehrenreich's original, and to some extent provocative, contribution is to show that the same kinds of distortions also characterize what at first may seem like more serious middle-class efforts to define reality, such as the "discovery" of the poor in the early '60s. She reminds us that Michael

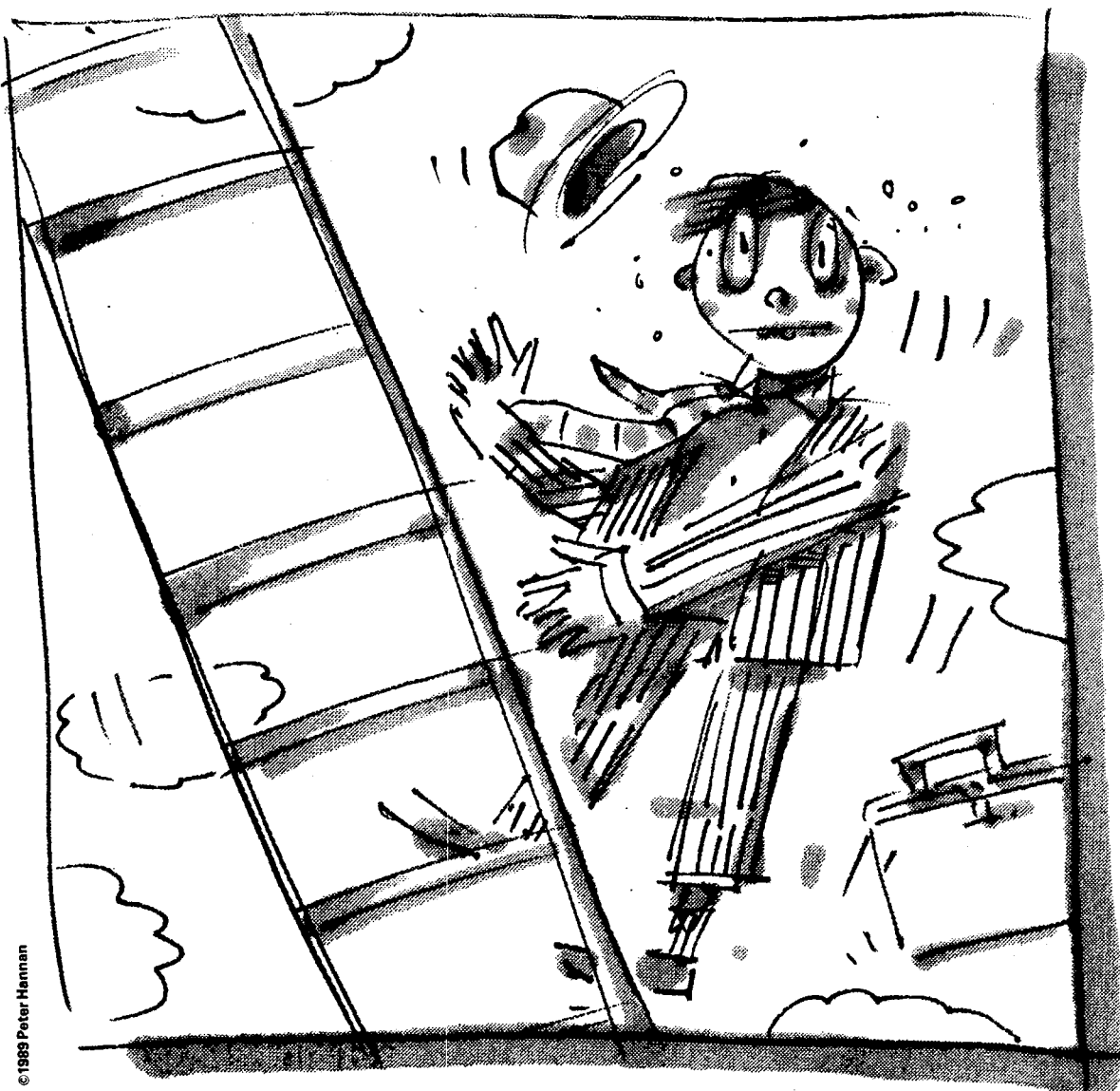
Harrington's *The Other America*, a book that would have as much meaning to yuppies today as a Sanskrit dictionary, did reach a large audience. But, she continues, a good portion of that concern was really the professional middle class projecting its own anxiety.

Ever since the advent of installment buying, the middle class (and Americans generally) have been torn in two directions: the old puritanical ethos of saving, working hard and deferring gratification has been challenged by the consumptionist ethic—buy and enjoy now. There is genuine tension here as the professional middle class worries that it will go soft, that consumption will weaken its ability to protect its hard-won status and pass that status on to its children. She explains: "What the middle class saw in the poor—or, more accurately, projected onto the poor—was the dreaded effects of affluence on the middle class. The poor did not participate in affluence themselves, but, strangely, they came to represent its worst effects on the human character.... The ideal consumer, like the denizen of the culture of poverty, is hedonistic, impulsive, self-indulgent."

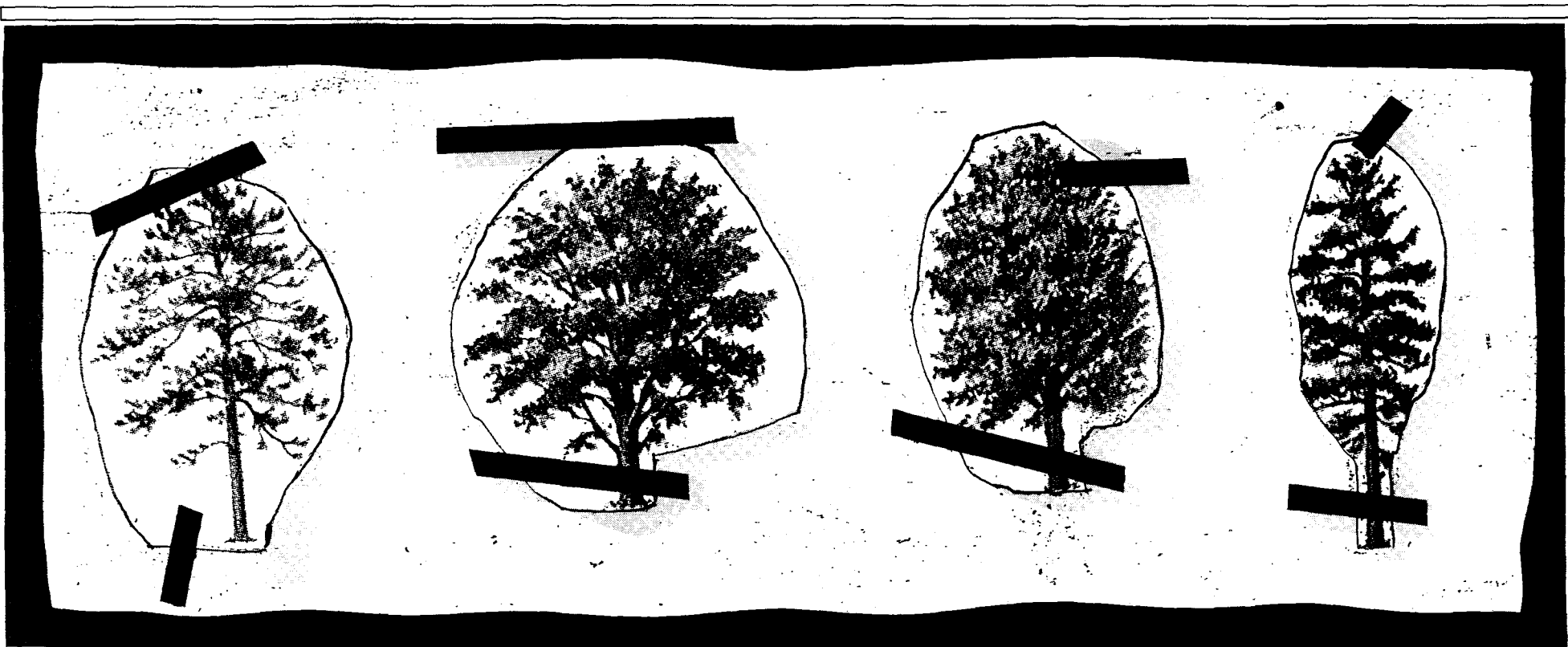
This and other of her assertions include a certain amount of stretching. After all, sometimes things are just what they seem on the surface. Many people from the professional middle classes were genuinely shocked to discover poverty back in the '60s, and 20 years later many of them are still doing something about it. Sometimes a cigar is just a cigar.

Ehrenreich's conclusion is tentatively optimistic. She argues that a democratic-socialist movement can appeal to at least some of this mass of people by making two big points. First, the upper class is not competent to keep running America without challenge—the garish, wasteful mega-merger plutocracy is a growing menace to economic stability and the world environment. Second, the amount of meaningful, creative work (unlike consumer goods) is not limited, so the professional middle class should be able to satisfy its real needs without being so frightfully competitive. She writes: "If we start with what needs to be done, we can see that the middle class' anxious sense of scarcity is in no small part self-imposed. There is potentially no limit to the demand for skilled, creative and caring people, no limit to the problems to be solved, the needs to be met by human craft and agency."

Ehrenreich's argument is not an easy or obvious one to make. It requires inspiring people to imagine a society organized in very different ways. But *Fear of Falling* is a good place to start learning how to convince people that enrolling their kids in French for Tots is no solution. ■ James North writes regularly for *In These Times*.



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The End of Nature
By Bill McKibben
Random House, 226 pp., \$19.95

By Jeremiah Creedon

WE LIVE AT THE END OF NATURE," writes Bill McKibben, "the moment when the essential character of the world we've known since we stopped swinging from our

ECOLOGY

tails is suddenly changing." The book that McKibben has built upon this assertion is really two separate works that unfold concurrently, with the flaws of one detracting from the virtues of the other.

The first book documents the global trend in atmospheric warming and the environmental crisis it seems destined to cause. McKibben, a former staff writer at the *New Yorker*, manages the role of science reporter quite well. His account of the

The End of Nature not the last word

greenhouse effect, ozone depletion and other factors associated with global warming are remarkably lucid. In his argument that the greenhouse effect is a monumental threat to both human society and the global ecosystem, the facts alone prove dire and convincing enough to make his case.

The second book is McKibben's personal lament over the disappearance of nature, which he believes the greenhouse effect has made inevitable. McKibben explains that "nature" in this sense is not just the sum of life forms and various elements on Earth. Today, this is "something that looks a lot like nature but isn't." According to McKibben, what has been lost is the former human relation to the natural world, an "idea" of nature that recognized its untamable grandeur and inherent

spirituality.

Even those with a deep concern for the environment are thus left with a diminished cosmos in need of constant stewardship and caretaking. This rankles McKibben, who

instead, creators themselves.

McKibben's religious bent is evident throughout the work. He mentions on several occasions that he is a churchgoing Methodist as well as a gardener, a married man and a

According to McKibben, what has been lost is the former human relation to the natural world, an "idea" of nature that recognized its untamable grandeur and inherent spirituality.

encounters this spiritual depletion even in the areas that most Americans today still consider wilderness. He also cites the advances in genetic engineering as yet more evidence that human beings are no longer a part of a divine creation. They are,

homeowner who likes to walk his dog in the woods around his spread in upstate New York. He and his wife want a child, but he coyly suggests they're still trying to decide whether having one would be socially responsible.

Here, at his least appealing, McKibben reads like a cross between Euell Gibbons and newspaper columnist Joyce Maynard. His effort to establish his persona smack dab in the middle of American life is perhaps well-intentioned, but the effect may be alienating to many who would otherwise embrace his message.

Despite these faults, McKibben can also write with clarity and intelligence. His best work occurs when the matter at hand—usually a technical one—totally absorbs him. There's a pleasure in seeing a tough idea conveyed simply and vividly, and McKibben often does so. But his writing might be stronger if he tempered his work with the realization that his own values are not necessarily universal truths.

Jeremiah Creedon is a writer living in Minneapolis.

Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in The Russian Revolution
By Richard Stites
Oxford University Press
307 pp., \$35

By Karen Rosenberg

A CONDUCTORLESS ORCHESTRA. A communal house, which historian Richard Stites of Georgetown University affectionately dubs "socialism in one building." Even shared underwear. Various models for a new and better world were tried in the USSR in the early post-revolutionary era.

Unlike many previous studies of the subject, *Revolutionary Dreams* was not written with a cynical or condescending smirk. The word "utopia" in the title and the text is not pejorative. Stites is one of a small but influential group of American Slavists who have dumped the annoying righteous tone of Cold War discourse about the USSR. In its

The growing perils of the middle way

place the author offers delight in revealing diversity.

Until the Soviet archives are opened to Western and Soviet re-

UTOPIAS

searchers, the main source for scholars like Stites will continue to be printed matter. Much of the material in this book is known to Soviet specialists but has never before been gathered together. The juxtaposition of diverse utopian tendencies (anti-technological and gung-ho promachine, super-urbanist and village-oriented, statist and anarchist, millenarian and militantly atheist, etc.) reveals their common denominator: a sense that the young Soviet Union was receptive, moldable and ready for quick and radical social change.

What struck me in this survey of conflicting movements were symbolic details. Anti-modern peasants burned tractors, while pro-Soviet villagers held Red Weddings on new Ford tractors draped with red flags. The era was full of metaphors of reversal: at the theater, political prisoners occupied the imperial box, while in one commune a string ensemble accompanied the ironing.

Egalitarianism rocked even the Russian language for a time. In Khar'kov, notes Stites, some called for the banning of the word *barin*, meaning "lord," and a commune near the Baltic dropped the words for "my" and "mine." But when Stalin came to power, he addressed most people in the familiar *ty* form and expected them to employ the formal *vy* back to him. These examples are often

more effective than abstract modifiers like "socialist" and "utopian" in conveying the history of the post-revolutionary era, given the disputed meanings of those terms.

Particularly troublesome is the opposition "spontaneous"/"controlled" that Stites, like some other historians, employs to contrast the experiments of the '20s with the repression of the '30s. In a country where peasant "folk songs" used lyrics by Pushkin, the division between high and low or elite and mass has long been problematic.

German literary critic Peter

Stites is one of an influential group of Slavic scholars who have dumped the righteous tone of Cold War discourse about the USSR.

Buerger, in his well-known *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, argues that the goal of many artists of the modern era has been to obliterate the distinction between art and life. The degrees to which visual artists and theater directors inspired and coordinated the festivals of the early revolutionary period is something Soviet archives may reveal one day.

Those who accept the romantic division between spontaneity and control include both conservatives and leftists. The former often call the 1917 revolution a putsch, while the latter stress its popular base. Those in the middle argue over the date when popular enthusiasm turned into control from above. Undoubtedly, some commentators on the Gorbachov era will depict it as a reverse motion, from control to spontaneous enthusiasm. The framework is all set up. Unfortunately, this dualistic structure fails to convey the complexities of cultural and social history.

Karen Rosenberg frequently writes about Soviet politics and culture.

IN THE ARTS

Jesus of Montreal
Directed by Denys Arcand

By Lawrence Kootnikoff

AFTER TAKING ON SEX AND RELATIONSHIPS in *Decline of the American Empire* in 1986, Quebec filmmaker Denys Arcand has now turned his attention to religion. The result, *Jesus of Montreal*, winner of the 1989 Jury Prize at Cannes, is another triumph.

Arcand says the idea came to him four years ago when a previously clean-shaven actor showed up for an audition wearing a beard. "Sorry about the beard," he said, "but I'm

FILM

Jesus now." He was performing *The Way of the Cross*, a passion play, on Montreal's Mount Royal.

"The situation began to haunt me," recalled Arcand. "How could this young actor say every night, 'Whoever would save his life will lose it,' and the next morning audition for an erotic movie or a beer commercial?"

That's one of the questions *Jesus of Montreal* tries to answer, a film Arcand wrote, directed and has a cameo role in. It's a multilayered film, presented with Arcand's trademark understatement, that brings the story of Jesus to a modern-day setting. A young actor, Daniel (Lothaire Bluteau), is hired by a Catholic priest, Father Leclerc (Gilles Pelletier), to "modernize" and "update" his church's annual passion play.

Play of passions: Bluteau's performance of Daniel/Jesus as a "gentle subversive" is beautifully restrained. While the film's principal target is religion, the theme is the contradictions and absurdity of everyday life, as Arcand elaborated to reporters after Cannes:

"*Jesus of Montreal* refers to the Gospel according to St. Mark, advertising for eau de cologne, *The Brothers Karamazov*, the dubbing of por-

Jesus of Montreal: passion play works many levels



The show must go on: Catherine Wilkening, Lothaire Bluteau and Johanne-Marie Tremblay in *Jesus of Montreal*.

nographic movies, the Big Bang, the formula for Coca-Cola Classic, Hamlet's soliloquy, the inconvenience of being born in Burkina Faso, a Roman soldier by the name of Pantera, fascists who are daily communicants, organ transplants and Paul Newman's salad dressing."

The film is a story within a story and has Arcand's characteristic gentle humor. "Are you looking for Jesus?" a librarian asks Daniel as he researches the character of Jesus, sur-

rounded by theological works and Bibles. "He will find you," she assures him, with a conspiratorial nod.

Daniel's search for a cast parallels Jesus' search for apostles: Constance (Johanne-Marie Tremblay) works in a soup kitchen, Martin (Remy Girard) is dubbing porn films into French, Mireille (Catherine Wilkening) makes commercials for expensive perfumes, and Rene (well-known Quebec playwright Robert Lepage) is narrating a film on as-

trophysics. In scenes that mirror the Gospels in their simplicity ("Come and I will make you fishers of men"), all four drop what they are doing to join Daniel.

Daniel's play, a modernized and moving version of the passion, becomes the hit of the summer. Daniel is hailed as a dramatic genius by some, and by others as a New Age prophet. As the film progresses, the lines between the characters of Daniel and Jesus begin to blur.

The good cookbook: There is the temptation of Christ when a brilliant lawyer, who draws up "career plans" for clients, offers his services to Daniel, saying, "With your talent, this town is yours if you want it." Perhaps a book? "Cookbooks are very big this year," the lawyer assures him.

But like Jesus, Daniel soon runs afoul of both religious and civil authority. When producers at a beer commercial audition tell Mireille to take off her shirt, Daniel flies into a rage, overturns tables and cameras and chases the modern-day moneylenders from the set, our 20th-century temple. He is arrested.

His play, questioning Jesus' divinity and the accuracy of his Gospels, even presenting the theory that Jesus was the illegitimate son of a Roman soldier, goes too far for

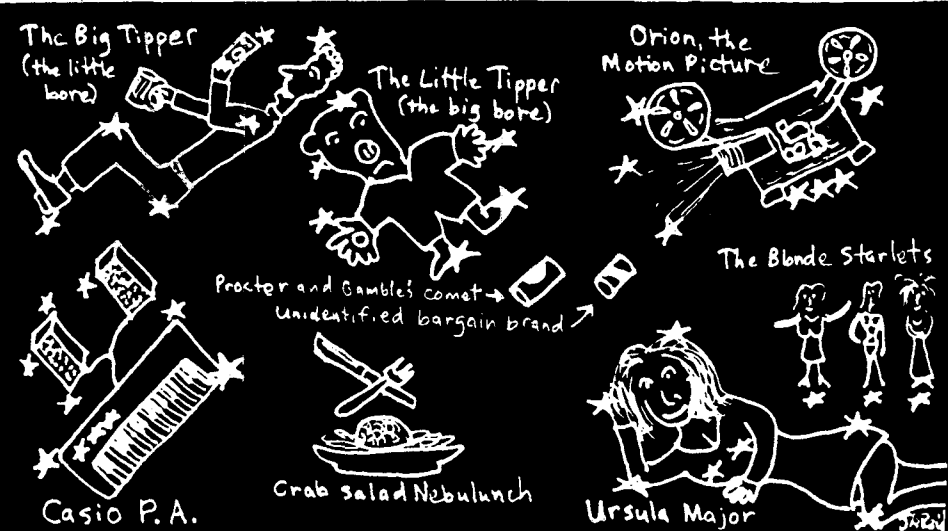
church authorities. Father Leclerc, a rather pitiful figure who is sleeping with Constance ("I'm not a very good priest," he admits), pleads with Daniel/Jesus to change the script. The play misses the point, he says. "The Haitian cleaning ladies, Guatemalan refugees, the lonely old people who come here [to church] don't want to hear about the latest archeological theories.... They come to be told that God loves them and is waiting for them."

Daniel refuses, and ironically Leclerc must choose between Jesus and the church. The play is banned from church property. But the actors try to present the play one last time.

Jesus of Montreal is a beautiful film. And Arcand's dialogue sparkles, as usual. Who was Jesus? The film doesn't really answer that question. Does it really matter? Arcand's own point of view is clear from the first minutes of the film, a stage adaptation of *The Brothers Karamazov*: "We must destroy the idea of God in the spirit of Man!" cries Smerdiakov. "Only then will everyone know he is mortal, without hope of resurrection.... Man will cease to murmur against the shortness of life and will love his brothers with a disinterested affection."

Lawrence Kootnikoff is a writer living in Quebec City.

Modern Constellations



Zerograd
Directed by Karen Chakhnazarov

By John Feffer

THE FIRST WAVE OF CINEMATIC *perestroika* swept the censors' shelves of virtually all banned movies and allowed Soviet directors greater freedom to tackle previously taboo subjects. If the new film *Zerograd* is any indication, Soviet filmmakers are now turning to a more artistically and politically ambitious subject: *perestroika* itself.

In *Zerograd*, director Karen Chakhnazarov depicts an absurdist Soviet Union where reform is at best an exercise in surrealism. After viewing this superb and hilarious new Soviet film (which won the grand prize at the Chicago International Film Festival in October), one can only wonder: why wasn't such a satire done before? Contemporary Soviet reality is, after all, a gold mine for the ironically inclined.

The simple answer is politics. Brezhnev and Stalin can now be ridiculed within the USSR. But Gorbachiov and the present reforms have not hitherto been considered a laughing matter (at least not for export). Now the reform seems to have progressed sufficiently to accommodate potentially unsettling metaphors, and Chakhnazarov takes full advantage of the opportunity.

Coming to a head: *Zerograd* follows the misadventures of Varakin, a Moscow bureaucrat sent to a small provincial factory to arrange the redesign of an air-conditioner part. A sign near the factory's entrance extolling *perestroika* indicates that the time is the present and that the surrounding town of Zerograd is at least formally keeping abreast of current Soviet trends.

Varakin soon discovers, however, that Zerograd is quite exceptional.

Sects, lies and underlying logic

ZEROGRAD

FILM

A secretary at the factory wears no clothes, the factory head is unaware that his chief engineer has been dead for some time, the railway station doesn't sell tickets for trains back to Moscow. When he stops for lunch at the local restaurant, Varakin is offered a special dessert, a cake in the shape of his own head. Horrified, he refuses even to taste it and consequently the insulted baker commits suicide.

At this point, *Zerograd* ceases to be merely an amiable symbol of stagnant and illogical Brezhnevism. Gradually revealing a world of murky plots and submerged political conflict, *Zerograd* illustrates a Russian problem much older than Gorbachov or Brezhnev: the competition between externally consistent tradition and fundamentally alien external reform.

Twisted histories: Attempting to flee this world, Varakin only falls in deeper. At the outskirts of the city he discovers a museum of the region's history. "Historical truth is the source of our strength," reads the plaque inside, but outlandish falsehoods in fact dominate the museum's exhibits.

A guide shows Varatin a Trojan

tomb and explains that the Trojans settled near Zerograd after the fall of Troy. A display of Romans reveals that the Romans too had settlements in the area. And so the historical fabrications continue into the Stalinist era (for instance, a statue of Zerograd's muscular Stakhanovite). This historical tradition may be faulty—as nonsensical as the naked secretary—but it obeys a certain perverse logic and truly functions as the source of beliefs for Zerograd's inhabitants.

One display stands apart. Amidst all the half-real, half-fabricated detritus of Russian/Soviet history, Varakin encounters an exhibit on Zerograd's first two rock'n'rollers, including a tribute to the Young Communist League (Komsomol) president who disgraced them in 1957. A

akin discovers, rock'n'roll is making a comeback in Zerograd under *perestroika*, and the chief protagonists of 1957 are once again at center stage. One of these first rockers, it turns out, was the baker who committed suicide. The Komsomol is revealed as the procurator who suspects the suicide to be a murder.

Yet in this replay of Western decadence vs. Communist purity, the Komsomol-turned-procurator is isolated. He lectures Varakin on the purpose of the state, that it holds the Soviet people together, that it is greater than the individual, that it endures despite the seduction of Western-style reforms of "obvious rationality and practicality."

But all this state-talk is clearly old-fashioned. The inhabitants of Zerograd prefer rock'n'roll. A nightclub named after the dead dancer/baker is billed as a victory for democracy: "through the years of Stalinism, subjectivism, voluntarism and stagnation, we have reserved the right to dance as we like," says one club member.

Mandatory fun: At first glance, then, reform from the outside—riding piggyback on contemporary music—has won. But the pull of

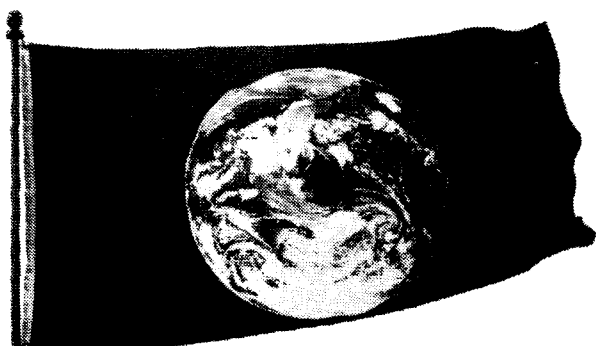
Zerograd's tradition is clearly greater than either the procurator's neo-Stalinism or the liberating influence of Bill Haley and the Comets. *Zerograd's* new infatuation with rock'n'roll, like the wandering Trojans and the beefy Stakhanovite, is a fiction: slick, corny, packaged. Rather than an expression of true feeling, the music has been transformed into just another illogical tradition, demanding new conformism. *Zerograd* could not previously rock'n'roll; now all citizens must dance to the new beat (how *Zerograd* would handle capitalism is an especially frightening thought).

Beneath its amusing nonsense, then, *Zerograd* is unfortunately all too consistent. The city's inhabitants may engage in strange acts, but they never fundamentally challenge the status quo (or when they do, as the rock'n'rollers did, they are purged). This stranglehold of tradition, more than the paranoia of neo-Stalinists or the muddling through of the neo-Brezhnevites, emerges as the greatest obstacle to reform. Outsiders with plans, even as innocuous as changing a small part in a product, are viewed with amusement or suspicion and forced, explicitly or subtly, to conform to the system's rules.

Varakin could take the easy path and join *Zerograd's* community. Instead he runs away, literally takes off across a lake in a boat with no paddle. Confronted with the superficial incongruities and the deeper and more disturbing continuities of life in *Zerograd*, the reformer is forced to admit defeat and exit the system. It is not a pretty message, and fans of the more upbeat tradition of socialist realism may be disappointed. But as a parable of *perestroika*, *Zerograd* proves that Soviet reform can be as challenging artistically as it is politically. ■

John Feffer writes regularly on Soviet culture and politics.

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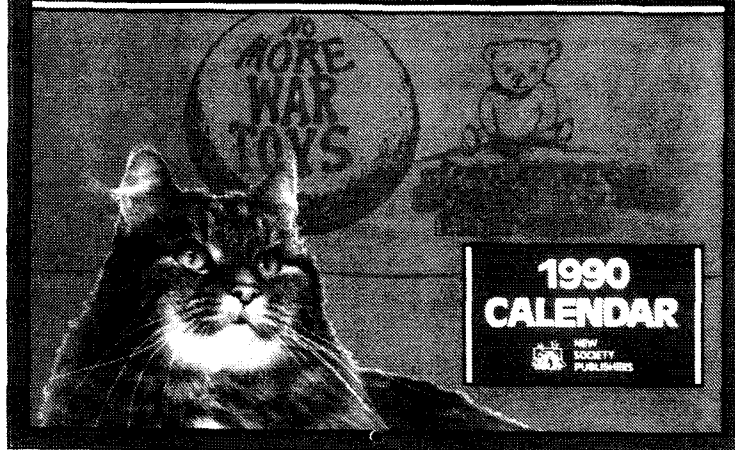
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FEMINISM

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The Politics of the Christian Right

Sara Diamond

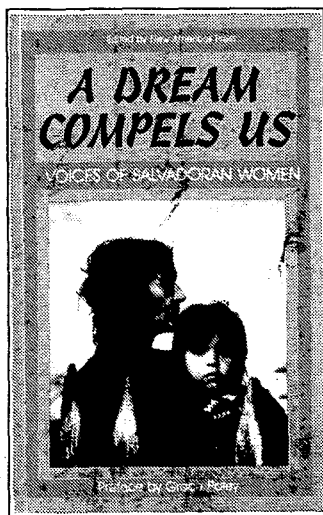
Based on the author's research—hundreds of interviews, scores of evangelical meetings, and more than a decade of monitoring religious broadcasting—*Spiritual Warfare* exposes the enduring political clout of the Christian Right, from a multibillion dollar broadcast industry to counterinsurgent "missionary" work in the Third World.

292 pages

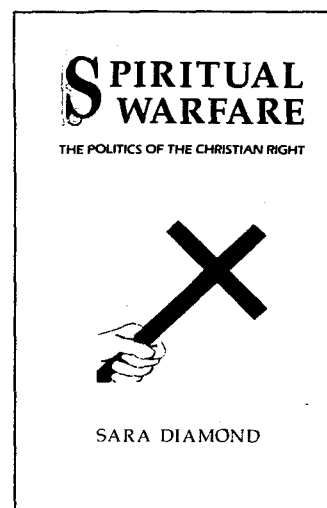
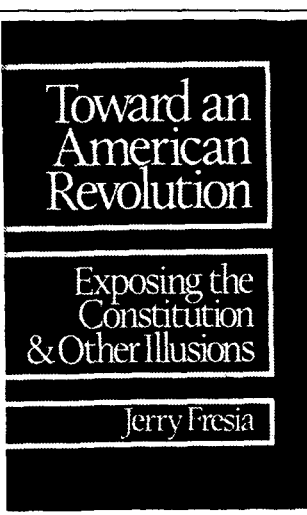
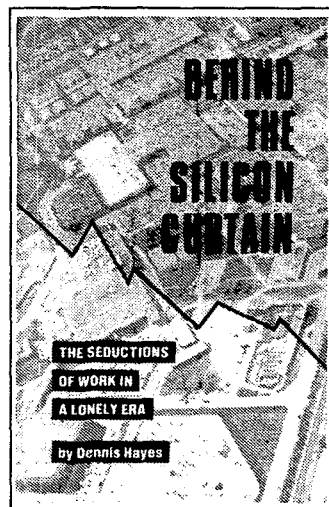
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INTERNS wanted for progressive arms-control group. Common Security, Non-Offensive Defense, NATO Monitoring. Send resume to BASIC, 1601 Connecticut Ave NW, #302, Washington, DC 20009, or call Peter at (202) 745-2457.

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WITNESS FOR PEACE, a faith-based independent organization working to change U.S. policy toward Central America, seeks a long-term TEAM COORDINATOR in Managua, Nicaragua. Experience in bicultural living and community living essential. Must have counseling and administrative experience and be conversationally fluent in Spanish. Application deadline: Feb. 1, 1990. Send resume to: Phyllis Taylor,

C L A S S I F I E D S

609 E. Allens Lane, Philadelphia, PA 19119, (215) 248-3178.

WITNESS FOR PEACE seeks an EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR in Durham, N.C., to oversee staff, programs, finances and general operation of Witness for Peace. Experience in administration and Latin America is essential. Fluency in Spanish is preferred. \$18,000 yr., negotiable. Please send resume to: Kathy McNeely, 30 North St., Williamstown, MA 01267, (413) 597-2483. Application deadline: March 1, 1990.

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LABOR UNION REPRESENTATIVE. Opening for union representative on Long Island to handle organizing and grievances. Requires car and evening fieldwork. Some experience preferred. Background in political or community organizing and labor studies a plus. Send resume to: Marvin Moschel, Local 802, AFM, 330 W. 42nd St., New York, NY 10036.

The New York State Public Employees Federation, AFL-CIO, is seeking to fill the vacancy of DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING in its Albany, N.Y., office. The Director of Education and Training is responsible for administration, coordination and delivery of education and

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training services to elected PEF leadership, members and staff. The successful candidate will possess a Masters Degree or a combination of Bachelor Degree and related experience, experience in curriculum development, training and teaching adults, program planning, development and implementation, managerial skills, a strong labor background, oral and written communication skills and knowledge of public-employee issues. A valid driver's license is also required. Salary \$36,720-\$45,900, plus transportation allowance and a comprehensive employer-paid benefit package. Send resume and cover letter to: Barbara A. Telasky, Personnel Office Manager, NYS Public Employees Federation, AFL-CIO, 1168-70 Troy-Schenectady Road, P.O. Box 12414, Albany, NY 12212-2414. Deadline for resumes: Nov. 30. EOE AA M F H V.

DESPERATELY SEEKING VOLUNTEERS! IN THESE TIMES needs volunteers to help out in our business department. Tasks vary. If you can volunteer during regular business hours Monday thru Friday and want to learn how we tick call Bill at (312) 772-0100.

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THE COMPREHENSIVE DIRECTORY OF LABOR EDUCATION now available to ITT readers. Send \$5 check m.o. to Local 189, Workers Education, c/o Jim Bollen, 44 Hollingsworth St., Lynn, MA 01902.

JEWISH CURRENTS, November 1989 issue. "Dinkins and Jewish Primary Vote," editorial; "You Mean There Was No Sex in Auschwitz?," story by Vera Schwarz; American Jewish fiction reviewed by Roger B. Goodman; Jewish children's books reviewed by Jane Schofer. Single issue: \$1.50 plus 75¢ postage. Subscription: \$15 yearly (USA). JEWISH CURRENTS, Dept. T, Suite 601, 22 E. 17 St., New York, NY 10003.

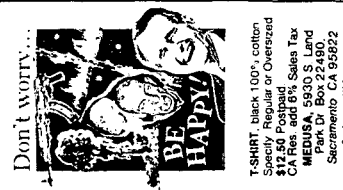
CALENDARS

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Would you like a nearly complete set of In These Times for your personal collection or favorite library? A charter subscriber has offered his collection for sale, and will donate all proceeds (above shipping costs) to In These Times. The price is \$300. Make check payable to:

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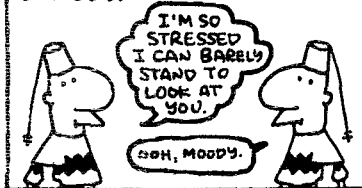
LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

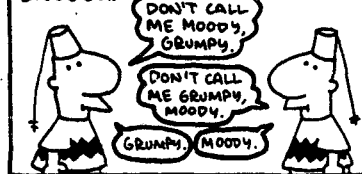
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MATT
GROENING

HOW TO GET BEYOND STRESS

LET'S FACE IT: WE ARE ALL STRESSED TO THE MAX. FOR SOME SENSITIVE PEOPLE, MERELY READING THE PHRASE "STRESSED TO THE MAX" CAUSES STRESS.



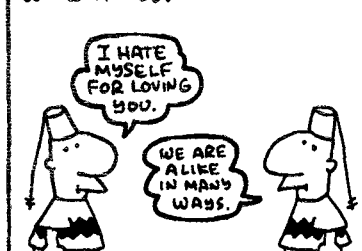
FEW OF US KNOW HOW TO GET BEYOND STRESS. WE YELL AT THE TV, WE HONK IN TRAFFIC, WE RIP UP OUR LOSING LOTTERY TICKETS, WE SNAP AT OUR LOVED ONES-- BUT SOMEHOW IT ISN'T ENOUGH.



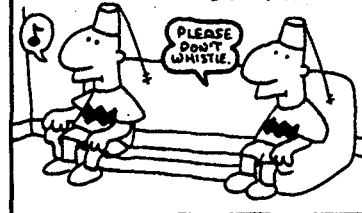
SOME TRY TO GET PEACE OF MIND BY EATING TASTY SNACK TREATS, PUFFING ON SOOTHING CIGARETTES, DRINKING DELICIOUS ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES, OR SMOKING RELAXING CRACK.



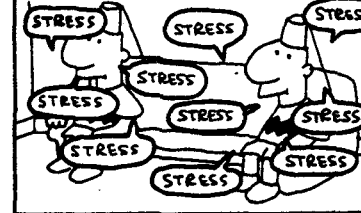
AND YET WE OFTEN END UP JUST AS STRESSED AS WHEN WE STARTED.



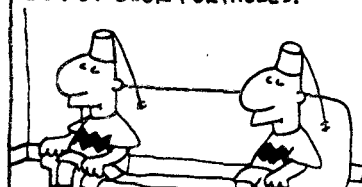
SO HERE'S WHAT YOU MUST DO. SIT ON A COMFY SOFA IN A DARK, WARM, QUIET ROOM. TURN OFF THE TV, OR AT LEAST TURN THE VOLUME DOWN.



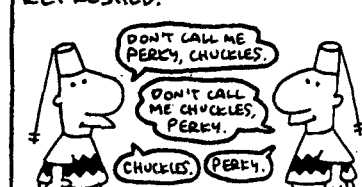
STARE AT A BLANK WALL. BREATHE SLOWLY AND DEEPLY, EACH TIME YOU EXHALE, REPEAT THE WORD "STRESS" TO YOURSELF. THIS WILL BE YOUR MANTRA.



VISUALIZE YOUR BODY AS THE RUSTY, HOLLOW HULL OF A SUNKEN OCEAN FREIGHTER, AND THE WORD "STRESS" AS A GIANT EEL SWIMMING IN AND OUT OF YOUR PORTHOLES.



CONTINUE BREATHING DEEPLY WHILE THE EEL SLITHERS THROUGH YOUR DEPTHS. SOON THE EEL WILL SWIM AWAY, AND YOU WILL FEEL RELAXED AND REFRESHED.



JUST LOOK AT ALL THE POOR SUCKERS AROUND YOU WHO ARE LIVING IN CONSTANT MENTAL TURMOIL. BUT NOT YOU! YOU HAVE ACHIEVED INNER PEACE. YOU SHOULD BE VERY PLEASED WITH YOURSELF.



C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$25.00 for one insertion, \$35.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

NEW YORK, NY

November 22-December 2

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL NEW YORK, NEW YORK. THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS; Sean Wilentz; Wednesday, Nov. 22; 8 p.m.; \$10. PERFORMANCE: Percy Jones; Saturday, Nov. 25; 8 p.m.; \$6. NEW YORK, NEW YORK. THE LADIES' MILE: ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY; Christine Bayer; Wednesday, Nov. 29; 8 p.m.; \$10. MUSIC BY NED ROTHENBURG; Friday, Dec. 1; 8 p.m.; \$6. MUSIC BY NICHOLAS COLLINS; Saturday, Dec. 2; 8 p.m. \$6.

All events take place at the New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St., New York, NY 10013, (212) 941-0332.

December 4

"The Triumph of Capitalism?" A dialogue with Robert Heilbroner (Norman Thomas Professor, New School for Social Research) and Bogdan Denitch (Member, DSA National Political Committee); 7 p.m.; Monday, December 4; at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 W. 4th Street. \$5 donation. Sponsored by New York DSA. For more information call (212) 962-1079.

CHICAGO, IL Monthly

For 40 years the journal MONTHLY REVIEW, founded by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, has represented independent and non-dogmatic socialist thinking. Readers and supporters of MONTHLY REVIEW in the Chicago area have formed a new discussion group, which meets at the New World Resource Center Bookstore, 1476 W. Irving Park Road. This group will take up a variety of topics covered in the journal that are timely for socialists today. The last monthly meeting for 1989 will be held on Tuesday, Nov. 21, at 7 p.m. The particularly timely subject "The Crisis in Socialist Theory—Where Do We Go from Here?" will be the principal topic. The panel will also plan topics and agendas for the 1990 discussion groups. Co-sponsored by the Open University of the Left and the New World Resource Center. For more information contact Perry Carwright, 2620 Jackson Drive, Woodridge, IL 60517, (708) 971-2620.

LOVELAND, OH December 16

"Hildegard of Bingen." Reflections on the visions and writings of Hildegard, a 12th-century painter and poet, musician and healer, theologian and prophet, mystic and abbess, playwright and social critic. She has been called a "model for the liberated woman." This is the final workshop in Grailville's Saturday Specials, held from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. \$10 program fee, \$5 lunch. For information or registration, write or call: Grailville Programs, 932 O'Bannonville Road, Loveland, OH 45140, (513) 683-2340.

UNLEASHED

There was a time when friends would quietly spell out their personal problems. "Harold was d-r-u-n-k again last night." A sympathetic nod would be the response, and the conversation would quickly revert to something more pleasant. Personal matters were acknowledged but not dwelt upon. Only intimate friends were chosen to hear about personal suffering. Now, you ask the stranger sitting next to you on the bus how she is doing, and she is likely to respond that her husband is impotent. Nothing is sacred anymore.

Today's trend is to become unburdened. Personal problems are in. Social problems are out. We seem to believe the world's problems will disappear if we repair our own personality defects. This is the New Age—the era of continuous self-cleansing. Unlike self-cleansing ovens, humans require outside help. Everything is a club effort. We attend support groups to receive cheering and applause from our friends, whereas an oven quietly cleans itself.

Families have run ads in the local weekly paper to find a "New Age Nanny." The ideal applicant for some will be anchored down not only by numerous crystals with magical purposes but by several less-mystical personal problems. A suitable resume will need to list specific self-help memberships, the Edgar Cayce and Personal Growth books that have been studied, and both your sun and moon signs. The old ways are no longer acceptable. Today it is not only fashionable but crucial for people to talk about their personal fears and problems. My grandmother used to call that kind of discourse "unbecoming whining." But grandmothers are another thing of the past.

In order to be a truly successful survivor, one must "share" one's survival with others. I remember attending a women's rally where the women walked around the park like a herd of cattle, wearing cardboard signs that informed others about their hardships: "I survived [rape, domestic violence, incest]." It sounded like they had been saved, cured.

I wondered if the sign was the trick to becoming a survivor. It seemed to work for the lion in the *Wizard of Oz*. When the lion received his medal, he believed he was courageous. We too want easy remedies for difficult problems. In a sense, our reward for surviving a personal catastrophe is being able to advertise it to others. I'm waiting for the day someone wears a sandwich board saying, "I survived my support group."

Personal-growth industries: One therapist placed an ad in our local paper seeking women with sex and relationship addictions. She invited them to attend a mountaintop retreat. I wondered if I could learn how to become addicted to sex by attending the workshop. Sex has got to be more healthy than my morning coffee. I phoned to find out how much this weekend would cost. Connie, the therapist, was disappointed to inform me

that I had just missed the \$300 addiction weekend retreat, but if I had lost a spouse through divorce or death, she would be hosting a retreat for those problems on the following weekend.

Connie was prepared to help anyone with anything. I was impressed. If I were an enterprising therapist, I would host a weekend retreat for the male partners who might be losing their lovers after Connie's sex-addiction retreat.

A recent New Age metaphysical bonanza has produced an incredibly diverse selection of self-help groups, most dealing with the Vortex and crystals, which aim to induce spiritual enlightenment. And for the psychic, there are out-of-body experience groups that meet on a weekly basis. If you are unable physically to attend the meeting, you can always tune in telepathically. (How does the billing work for that?) I have one New Age friend who is in the desert looking for his warrior. Another takes baths balancing crystals on his naval to cure some peculiar ailment. All of us can get help with grocery-store self-help books, clinical therapy or through exotic rituals. It's a cycle of endless help for everyone.

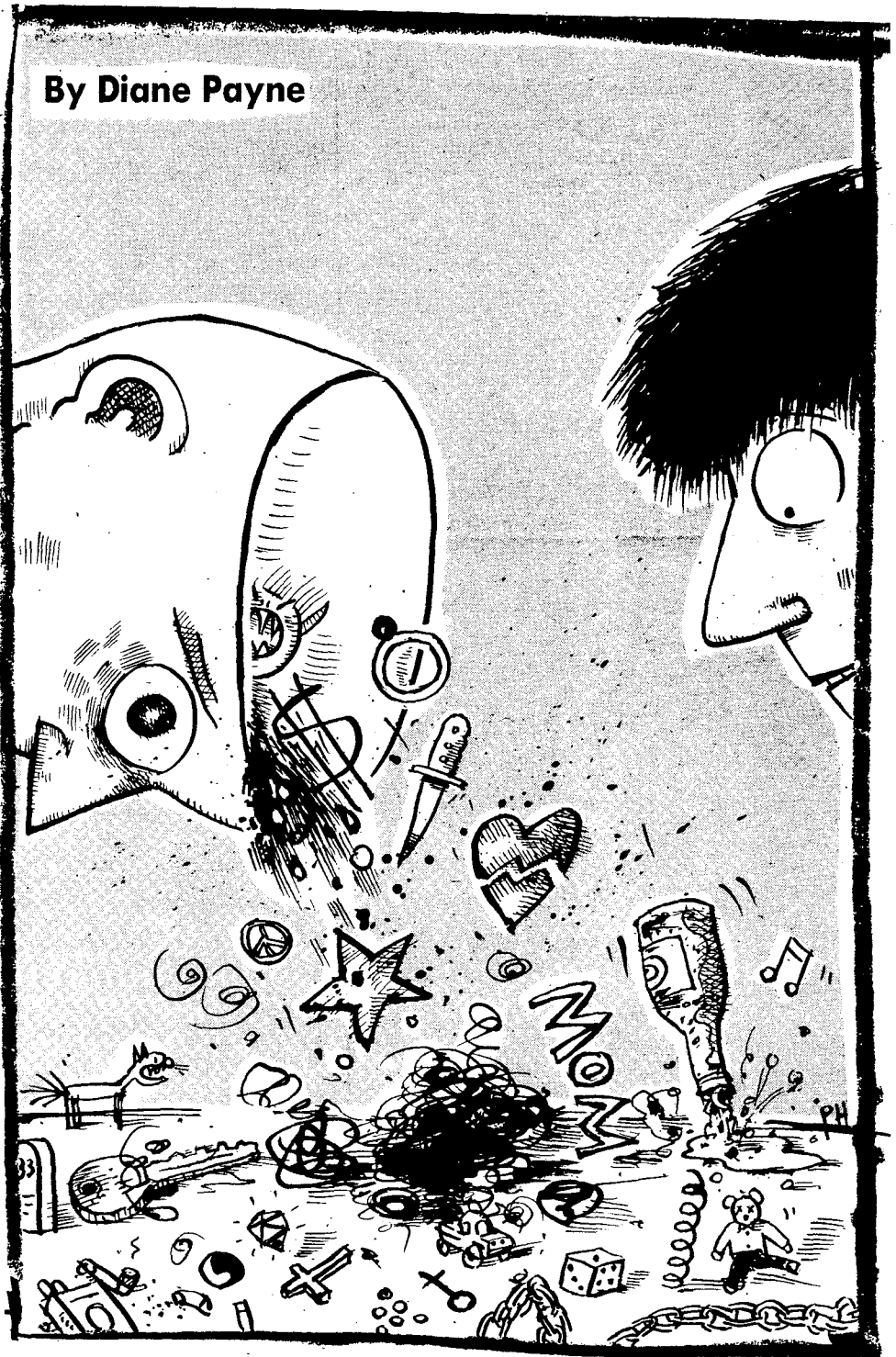
Perhaps after years of holding things in, we are merely going to the extremes. Now people reveal everything and believe they are cured as a result. Today I saw an ad that said: "Safe, good sex?" I thought it was an ad for erotic condoms, but no, it was for another support group. This ad sought people "recovering from hurtful, harmful, disappointing relationships." Who hasn't had a disappointing relationship? What happens to people if they don't find good safe sex after attending these sessions?

Counselors and therapists are obviously benefiting from this Save Yourself crusade. In order to be gainfully self-employed, it seems, all one must do is run an ad promoting fulfillment in another's life. To stimulate this growth industry, some have begun printing bumper stickers that ask, "Have you hugged your therapist today?" Personally, I feel uncomfortable with this embrace-o-mania. Nonetheless, I am sure there's a hugger-phobia support group for me, but I'd hate to give up what little space I have left to be embraced by strangers.

The best advice I've encountered is posted on the free-samples sign at the grocery store deli: "Help yourself." I am most appreciative of the suggestion and try to do just that.

Diane Payne is a writer living in Tucson, Ariz.

By Diane Payne



Personal problems are in. Social problems are out. We seem to believe that the world's problems will disappear if we repair our own personality defects.